

THE ANDOVER REVIEW

VOLUME XVI.—PUBLISHED MONTHLY.—NUMBER XCIII.

SEPTEMBER, 1891

CONTENTS

	PAGE
1. CRITICISM VERSUS ECCLESIASTICISM. I. CRITICISM. <i>Rev. Stewart Means</i> . . .	209
2. THE CHALLENGE OF LIFE. <i>Rev. Chauncey B. Brewster</i>	235
3. APOLLONIUS OF RHODES AND THE ARGONAUTICA. <i>Professor Charles F. Goodwin</i>	248
4. SOME EXPERIMENTS WORTH TRYING IN THE MINISTRY. <i>Rev. Charles M. Sheldon</i>	265
5. A NEW CHAIR. <i>Malcolm McG. Dana, D. D.</i>	272
6. EDITORIAL.	
A BENEFIT OF THE HIGHER CRITICISM	279
RECENT SPECULATION IN CANADA	282
THE INTERNATIONAL CONGREGATIONAL COUNCIL,—WHAT IT ACCOMPLISHED; WHAT IT REPRESENTED	288
JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL	294
7. THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.	
A GENERAL VIEW OF MISSIONS. SECOND SERIES. X. INDIA (continued). <i>Rev. Charles C. Starbuck</i>	300
8. BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.	
Toy's Judaism and Christianity, 311.—Faber's The Church for the Times, 314.— Plummer's The Expositor's Bible, 314.—Simcox's The Writers of the New Testa- ment, 315.—Bacon's Japanese Girls and Women, 315.—Larcom's As it is in Heaven, 317.—Perry's The General Ecclesiastical Constitution of the American Church, 317.—Todd's Christian Missions in the Nineteenth Century, 319.—Phelps's Fourteen to One, 320.	

BOSTON

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY

NEW YORK: 11 EAST SEVENTEENTH STREET

The Riverside Press, Cambridge

LONDON: WARD, LOCK & CO., WARWICK HOUSE, SALISBURY SQUARE

Entered at the Post Office at Boston as second-class matter

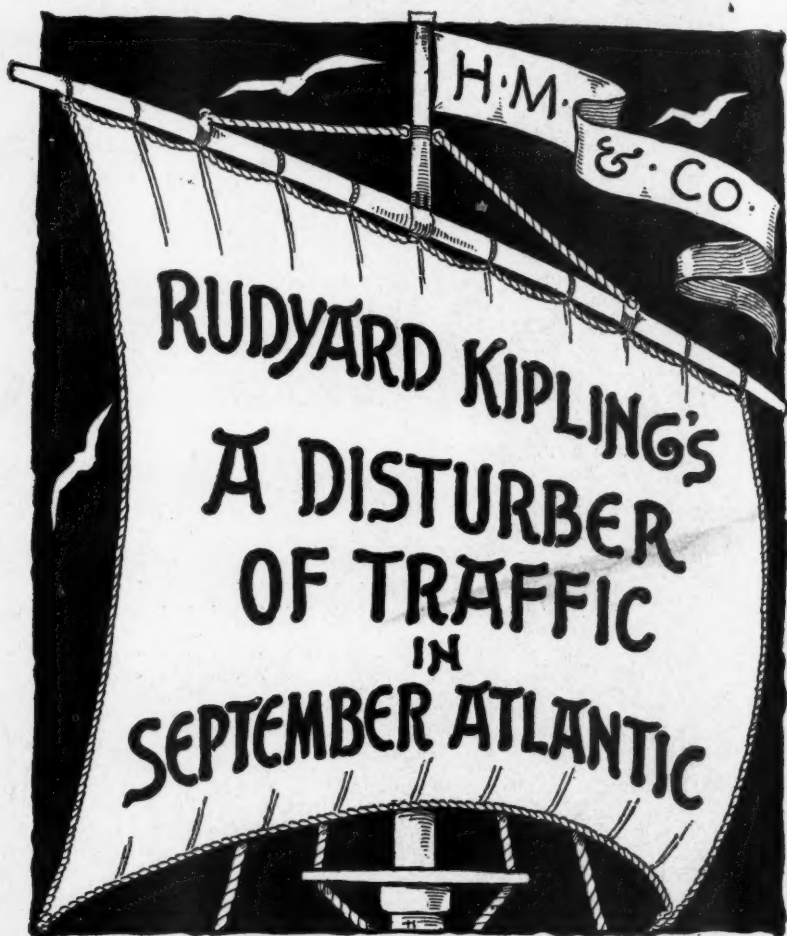
TERMS—SINGLE NUMBERS, 35 CENTS

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, \$4.00



D³⁰⁹ Public Library 91 #2

RUDYARD KIPLING'S LATEST.



RUDYARD KIPLING, in his nautical story, "The Disturber of Traffic," which appears in the September number of *The Atlantic Monthly*, has struck an entirely new vein. He tells the experience of a lighthouse-keeper, in another part of the world, who, half maddened by solitude and a certain curious optical delusion connected with the tides flowing by the light, becomes to an alarming extent a "disturber of traffic." Mr. Kipling has never done anything of the same sort before, and has never been more vivid and astounding than in the present story.

PRICE 35 CENTS. FOR SALE EVERYWHERE.

f
c
-
o,
n
n
r

THE
ANDOVER REVIEW:

A RELIGIOUS AND THEOLOGICAL MONTHLY.

VOL. XVI.—SEPTEMBER, 1891.—No. XCHL.

CRITICISM VERSUS ECCLESIASTICISM.

I. CRITICISM.

It is obvious to any person who has studied the conditions of theological thought to-day, that there are two tendencies or modes of thought which are affecting in very different ways the most active and sensitive spirits of this generation. We have come to the parting of the ways. The old happy compromises with all their genialities and inconsistencies can no longer find a place in the flood of light which the last half century of historical and critical investigation has applied to the solution of the great historical and theological problems. Amid all the confusions of thought and various currents of influence which converge upon this life of ours, two distinct and mutually exclusive movements are manifest. Each is complete in itself, and between these two ways of regarding religious truth the future will be divided far more than along the lines of our existing religious differences. The opponents of each consider it a novelty; but viewed historically, one tendency may be regarded as the continuation and expansion of principles long since laid down, and the other a revival, under the stress of peculiar social and spiritual circumstances, of a mode of regarding man and religion long since rejected by the sturdiest and most robust intelligence of the world.

They represent certain spiritual attitudes and beliefs which express themselves in these very different forms. That either of them can be called a novelty, in any strict sense of the word, is impossible. They can be considered pretentious inventions only by him who knows nothing of the past, or whose philosophy of

history has not space in it for all the phenomena of life. In current phrase they are described as Criticism and Ecclesiasticism, and the language is ample and definite enough.

All modern theological thought has relations and affinities with these two dominant factors, for it is their peculiarity and their power that they are representative. They are the clear, definite, and unflinching statements of what the logic of history demands, and have swept away all the compromises and half-measures by which men have attempted to keep the peace with reason and tradition, or the formula of conservatism and the demands of modern life. In our own country the growth and spread of these movements has been so recent that their real significance has not been fully appreciated. Now, however, it is apparent to all that the old order has passed away; all things are tending to new directions. Old parties and schools are disappearing. The lines of a new conflict are clearly shaping themselves. New standards are flung to the breeze, new weapons flash in the sunlight, and new battlecries are heard floating across the field. Let us study these conditions in their historic development.

That which is called Modern Criticism, and which has caused so much debate and strife, is hardly, in any sense of the word, modern, except as we regard it as preëminently one of the great forces of modern thought. In reality it has relations with the whole history of Protestantism, and that great intellectual movement of which the Reformation forms a part.

The classic revival of the fifteenth century, commonly called the revival of learning, found the old church sunk in wealth, bigotry, and ignorance. Scholasticism had broken down and exploded in thin air, and the slowly awakening mind of Europe was filled with profound disgust and contempt for the scholarship and the methods of study which the schools and universities then represented.

In Italy the revolt was so passionate that religion itself was scorned, and a revival of paganism in thought and in learning began, which shows how ill-prepared the church was to deal with the new intellectual energies which had begun to display themselves. At first, and in Italy, this burst of zeal for knowledge confined itself almost entirely to the pagan world of antiquity; classical writers and classical studies, rather than Christian, absorbed all the attention of the scholars. Lorenzo Valla was the only Italian humanist who paid the slightest attention to any historical or theological subject connected with the Christian church.

But when the waves of the great classical revival spread beyond the Alps and reached Germany, it there inspired none of that pagan sentiment which filled the hearts of the Italian scholars with that old heathen longing.

The more sober, stalwart German mind responded most eagerly to the new call, but it was filled with a seriousness and religious earnestness which made men apply the new learning to the highest uses.

The German humanists were Christians, and threw themselves into the struggle with the church which the Italians disdainfully abandoned. The new classical studies destroyed the old scholastic habits of thought and methods of study. A new way began to open up before the minds of men, and pointed to a change which was destined to form an epoch in the history of the human mind. A new ideal of knowledge and truth began to appear, and instinctively the men in whose breasts the new life was stirring arrayed themselves against the old institutions and the old methods of thought. Germany was the heart of the struggle, and here, in fact, we see the meaning of the new movement best.

The universities were on the side of the old church, and rejected humanism, and it was only after a long and bitter struggle against the authority and prestige of centuries that it gained an entrance into them. Agricola, Ecolampadius, and Reuchlin lectured at Heidelberg, but were not members of the university. Melancthon exerted himself in vain to gain a degree, but was rejected because he was known to be an enemy of scholasticism, and Erasmus himself had no friends in the university world for the same reason.¹ But the classical students of Europe won the cultivated part of society for science and for spiritual freedom, and prepared the way for the reception of the new religious life that was struggling for expression.²

In this new atmosphere the old ecclesiastical thought grew pale and sickly, and gradually vanished into its appointed place.

It is very difficult to realize the actual state of things in the fifteenth and early part of the sixteenth centuries. There was absolutely no knowledge of classical or Christian antiquity. Real scholarship and learning had been forgotten for more than a thousand years. Latin was the authorized language of the church, and yet what it had become in the hands of the monks we learn from Hutten and the famous "*Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*."

¹ Karl Schmidt, *Geschichte der Pädagogik*, Zweiter Band, S. 377.

² *Ibid.*, S. 492.

Hebrew was forgotten, and, worse, it was looked upon with fear and dread, and Greek was in but little better favor. In fact, as one of the scholars scornfully asserted, "The monks said every good grammarian was an heretic."¹

Such was the state of knowledge, not in Germany only, but in Europe, when the new movement began.

Germany asserted her preëminence in the higher fields of study then as always. Reuchlin and Erasmus, whom Hutten calls "Duos Germaniæ Oculos," placed her at the head of the new learning. There was only one scholar in Europe who could claim equality with them, and he, too, was north of the Alps.

In Reuchlin, Erasmus, and Budæus, the three great languages of antiquity found worthy representatives, and men began again to see the meaning of learning, which had been so totally forgotten. The gigantic figure of Luther towers so far above his contemporaries that but scant justice has been done to many of them.

In the history of modern scholarship no name is quite as important or conspicuous as that of Erasmus. The English scholar who knew more of the history of learning than any Englishman of this generation has said of Erasmus that "he was the first man of letters who had appeared in Europe since the fall of the Roman Empire."² And a more recent critic claims that since his day there has been no such literary reputation as his; "before the sickly scholar of Basil all Europe bowed."³

High praise to be awarded to any man; and when we add to this the fact that he is the first Biblical and historical critic who has appeared in modern times, we see something of the dimensions of the man.

His edition of the Greek Testament is the first; and although the critical powers displayed are not what now would be expected of an editor, yet the fact of its preparation shows that he perceived the true methods of Biblical study. In his edition of the Fathers, which was also the first, there is an instinctive recognition of the fact that history must be studied in its sources and with a scientific and critical spirit. It is almost appalling to look back to the achievements of the scholars of the sixteenth century. They had to break their way through the densest ignorance, and almost create the material for study.

¹ Rev. Charles Beard, *Lectures on the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century in its Relation to Modern Thought and Knowledge*, p. 55.

² Mark Pattison in *Encyc. Brit.*, vol. viii. p. 517.

³ Beard, p. 65.

There was not an edition of any classical writer in existence, before the middle or last of the fifteenth century, which could be of any service except to the few. Reuchlin in Hebrew, Budæus in Greek, and Erasmus in Latin broke the way to the modern field of philological studies. These early scholars were great travelers and men of the world, and their wandering life and wide experience gave a breadth and strength to their work which is often wanting in the later ones.

The striking thing in a study of the lives of all the early scholars, whether French, German, or English, is the unanimity with which they unite in repudiating the merely traditional and ecclesiastical methods of the church for the more accurate and scientific habits generated by the new fields of knowledge opened up to them. The moral and intellectual sense of Europe was outraged by the attitude and temper of the church, and the great humanists set about a reformation by widening the field of light, and setting truth before the eye of the world; but the change which they so hopefully expected could not be wrought by these means. Revolution, and not reformation, was the cry that sprang from the lips of the plain and ignorant, who simply felt their needs and found the answer in the truths presented by the religious reformers and not the scholars. What the history of Europe would have been had the religious revolution of the sixteenth century not taken place, it is idle to speculate about; but it is very evident that theological strifes, and the bitter animosities aroused by the religious struggles between the old church and the new, checked the growth of knowledge and stunted the intellectual development of Europe more than most writers on the period are willing to recognize. Luther was great enough to see the value of the new learning for the Protestant party, and the painful disputes and bitter hostilities which displayed themselves throughout Germany filled his heart with sadness. Melancthon lamented boldly the neglect of learning for controversy, and the abandonment of the classics for the unprofitable pursuit of theological debate.

It was not in Germany alone that the new religion threw the older learning into the shade, but all over Europe. When Erasmus visited England, where the new king had just come to the throne, Sir Thomas More was the pride of every Englishman, and there were men at both universities who were capable of appreciating the first scholar of Europe.

Within ten years after the death of that same king, and during

the reign of his daughter, it is said there were only two ecclesiastics at Oxford who could preach, and learning was at its lowest ebb in England.¹

Although the religious revolution checked the new learning, it did not destroy it. As the leadership in the world of letters had passed in the last quarter of the fifteenth century from Italy to Germany, so after the death of Erasmus it passed from Germany to France, and Turnebus and Dorat continued the fame of Budæus, and prepared the way for the greater fame of Scaliger and Casaubon.

Joseph Justus Scaliger, in some respects the most powerful mind of the sixteenth century, struck out for himself new and original methods and lines of thought, which were so far in advance of anything which his own age had accomplished that his intellectual temper and grasp of the problems seem more like those of a scholar of the nineteenth than of the sixteenth century. Erasmus was a great scholar; Scaliger was a great critic. More than that, he laid the foundation of all the scientific and historical investigations which have taken place since his day, for he first made philology the basis of historical studies, and from him it spread east and west through Germany and England.² Moreover, Scaliger resolutely refused to recognize, in critical studies, the existence of any artificial or conventional distinctions. Biblical and classical studies were related to each other as parts of a whole, and not separated by any arbitrary divisions.³

It is the application of these ideas and principles of investigation which constitutes his great distinction in the history of criticism. But great as his fame was, — and he was by universal consent the first scholar of Europe, — his life was darkened by the great change which was now rapidly taking place. The counter-reformation had set in. The exulting church advanced to a reconquest of her old territory. Germany was filled with dissensions, England with controversies and plots, and France with blood. After St. Bartholomew's Day every French Protestant knew what he might expect at any hour, and when Scaliger went to Leyden the supremacy in scholarship passed from France to Holland, as it had passed from Germany to France. One man alone was left, after the death of Scaliger, who might establish France's claim to her old position, and he, too, was driven by the ferocity of religious bigotry to seek refuge in a foreign land.

¹ Schmidt, *Geschichte de Pädagogik*, 3. Band, S. 182.

² Bernays, *Joseph Justus Scaliger*, S. 62.

³ *Ibid.*, S. 37.

The reactionary party had its way. The great school of German scholars had already disappeared. Even before the sword of the Thirty Years' War had shed the blood of her best and bravest, the youth of Germany had become spiritually dead.¹ The biographer of Casaubon tells us that on his face, as on that of every French Huguenot, there was that mournful shadow which is on the faces of men who are fighting for a lost cause.

The Jesuits had won, and in the little University of Leyden alone, fed by the memory of Scaliger's great fame, the lamp of critical learning was kept burning when the rest of Europe was given up to other and lower things.

With the triumph of the Catholic party through Latin Europe and the death of Isaac Casaubon, a great chapter in the history of learning was closed. Leyden, it is true, has always been faithful to her traditions, but the later scholars, even of that distinguished university, had a touch of pedantry about them, and the learned men of England and Germany gave themselves up almost exclusively to the theological controversy, a not too profitable pursuit upon the lines upon which it is generally carried on. The counter-reformation had inflicted injuries upon Protestantism which cannot be estimated. The fierce struggle for existence had robbed the reformed churches of that wide intellectual freedom and generous mental attitude which earlier characterized them.

In the sixteenth century, all the learned men had been Protestants, or sympathized with that party. In the seventeenth century there was a great change. No really great man abandoned the ranks of Protestantism, but all were tempted, and some wavered. Lipsius went over; Casaubon remained a Protestant, but not a Huguenot; and Grotius looked with the longing eyes of a statesman towards the old church. On the continent, with the exception of Leyden, there is little to inspire hope. In England the learning is theological, polemic, and devoid of inspiration. In the very beginning of the humanistic movement, one Italian alone had seen the value of a correct text of the Scriptures, and in the next century the subject was taken up by the most distinguished ecclesiastic of Spain, and also by Erasmus. The edition of the New Testament edited by the latter was published at Basle in 1516, a year before the beginning of the Reformation. This subject of the text of the Scriptures, especially of the New Testament, was continually before the minds of Protestant scholars, and in the seventeenth century was pursued with eagerness

¹ Bernays, *Joseph Justus Scaliger*, S. 65.

and industry by some of the ablest English scholars. In the history of criticism, this is the only branch of labor which in England plays any important part in the progress of the science until we reach the name of Richard Bentley. In his own country he had no predecessor; and in genius and learning, if we except Joseph Scaliger, he had none, or almost none, on the continent. His German biographer says of him: "He was not simply a great critic among a number of others, but with his name begins a new era in the science. He broke with tradition and opened a new road. He marks the boundary line of a new epoch."¹ His labors never represented the full power of his genius, and there were none of his own countrymen who were capable of recognizing the great significance and value of his method. On the continent, however, his greatness was appreciated and his influence most profoundly felt; but even there the full effect of the new principles which had been applied by him with such astonishing results was not seen until the labors of Wolf and Niebuhr showed that the German scholars were the spiritual children of the great Englishman. A distinguished German writer is quoted as saying that "historical philology was the discovery of Bentley."² This is the key to his position, and what made him the immediate founder of the whole modern critical school of the nineteenth century. His dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris, published in 1699, showed how far criticism had advanced, and what it could accomplish in the hands of a genius. It is the first brilliant and overwhelming exhibition of a method which is now universally adopted by all modern critics, and denounced by their opponents as a German invention.

In this remarkable book Bentley shows how much can be learned of the age of a work, the character of the author, and the purpose of its composition, by a study of the evidence contained in the work itself. In his hands criticism became a science which worked independently of tradition or prejudice, and led to results which could be tested by the severest rules of evidence. He projected an edition of the New Testament, and gives hints as to the methods which he would adopt in preparing the text. The work was never executed, and it is useless to conjecture as to its probable effects upon Biblical science; but it is a striking testimony to his grasp of the problem that, nearly one hundred and fifty years after, Tischendorf adopted the method which Bentley

¹ Jacob Maehly, *Richard Bentley; eine Biographie*, S. 5.

² *Ibid.*, S. 8.

had outlined. As he had no predecessors worthy of the name, so he had in his own country no successors, and English scholarship has never since reached his level. It was on the continent that the effect of his labors was to be most profoundly felt, and, in the new period which was approaching, the influence of his teaching was to have the most brilliant and striking illustrations. By the middle of the eighteenth century it was manifest that a change in the intellectual atmosphere was approaching. A generation was growing up which had larger needs than the established schools of learning seemed able to supply. Leyden was still, as in the seventeenth century, devoted to scholarship, and Heyne had made the University of Göttingen famous; but the influence of a new school of writers was making itself felt in wider circles, and the flash of genius was attracting the eyes of the youth which had been so profoundly stirred by the political convulsions of Europe.

A splendid burst of genius, of which Lessing and Herder were the forerunners and Goethe the central figure, filled Germany with new life and activity. New ways into that far distant past were opened, and into them burst bands, not of pedants or antiquarians, but of eager, ambitious thinkers, whose brains were quickened by the throbbing pulse of that fierce fever which plunged Europe into chaos and France into madness.

Amid all this mental activity, certain broad, solid lines and regular scientific methods of investigation began to emerge. The great speculative and philosophical movement inspired by Kant, which has changed the theology and philosophy of this century so thoroughly, was moving along its appointed paths, and only indirectly and by contact influenced or affected the growth of the critical movement. As we look back and see the order of development, and the relations that unfolded themselves, we see that that order was logical and these relations necessary. Classical learning had sunk relatively very low. It was necessary that it should attain scientific precision before the highest achievements of the critical spirit could be realized.

Around two names centre all the interest in the new science, which was now to be given such form and currency as to become the property and instrument of every careful student. Wolf and Niebuhr are the two men whose activity made an epoch in the study of the literature and history of the ancient civilizations of Greece and Rome. To such men as these, history was not the dead annals of a vanished race, but a page in that story of life of which the present forms part. The thought of the unity and

continuity of history also gave to the past a brilliancy and depth it had not possessed before, filling it with a living sympathy and interest.

Such a student was inspired to the most intense activity of investigation, which gave unity to his own life by joining the remote subject of his study with the passions and thoughts of his own existence. The past was not a grave, nor its history a musty roll, but the story of a rich organic life, full of overwhelming beauty and undying interest, and the spirit of the Old World wove anew its everlasting charm about the souls of men. In all the classical investigations which belong to the new school there is manifest, amidst much mental excitement and violent exaggeration, the clear perception that history was being studied in a new way, and that its examination was conducted by new methods. The new school of critics had blood in their veins, and the past which they were investigating grew clear and bright and living in the light of that busy, tumultuous present in which they played such important parts. The field was gradually widened, and all antiquity was claimed for a new investigation. The story of a new world unrolled itself, and the old literature became a living spring from which men drew new inspiration and hope.

One literature alone of the past seemed surrounded by a traditional reverence and fear which forbade the hand of the critic. The Hebrew history had a halo about it which had for ages blinded men to their own ignorance, and the great confusion which existed in all their conceptions of its composition and character. Efforts had been made to examine the Hebrew Scriptures in a scientific and unprejudiced manner; but for a variety of reasons which cannot be enumerated here, the results had been extremely unsatisfactory from a historical point of view.

The growing sense of freedom, the increase in resources and material, as well as the awakening of mental activity in philological and historical fields, which marked the latter half of the last century, turned men's thoughts again towards what was then supposed to be the oldest literature extant. The great problem of Old Testament criticism, the Pentateuch, had the keynote to its solution sounded as early as 1753 by Jean Astruc,¹ a Frenchman; but Old Testament science received its greatest impulse from the labors of De Wette, whose "*Beiträge zur Einleitung*" (1806-7) showed that the sacred literature was to be treated by the same methods and with the same critical spirit that char-

¹ Bleek's *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 5. Auflage, S. 607.

acterized the best classical work of the day. To follow the course of Old Testament criticism from De Wette to Wellhausen would lead through many long and weary controversies, and over many well-fought battlefields, and would require a volume in itself. Sufficient to note here that the difficulties which stood in the way of a clear understanding of Jewish history were partly a result of the condition of the documents, and partly a result of the method of treatment, which oftentimes was conducted without a clear recognition of the character of the books, or a satisfactory knowledge of their composition and age. The growing interest in Oriental studies was pouring a constantly increasing stream of light upon the Old Testament, and furnished much valuable material for a better method of interpretation.

The task of grasping the entire history in all its complexity and variety in one whole, and presenting the life of a people complete, distinct, and harmonious in all its parts, is, even in the best state of historical science, and with the richest and best-digested supply of material, a gigantic one. Hebrew history, moreover, presented special difficulties on account of the traditions which had gathered around its literature, and the absence of that atmosphere in which the freest mental activity takes place, and, besides, the literature itself is comparatively small. Yet the desire expressed by Dr. Arnold, "What Wolf and Niebuhr have done for Greece and Rome seems sadly wanted for Judea," was to be gratified in a work even more solid and brilliant than those of the distinguished classical scholars named. Heinrich G. A. Ewald had for many years furnished many valuable contributions to Oriental and Biblical study, but it was not until his "History of Israel" was placed before the world that the depth and range of his knowledge and the grasp and power of his genius were fully realized. Many criticisms have been offered, many errors have been discovered, many additions have been made to our knowledge in points of detail, but, like Gibbon's great work, the "History of Israel" stands without a rival in the field which it covers; and the massive foundations and walls, which have been so fiercely attacked, still stand to testify that only a great intellect and a profound genius could have constructed them. In a certain sense Ewald represents the high-water mark of constructive genius in Old Testament history. The wide interest in Oriental studies, particularly in Hebrew, which has been aroused among Christian scholars, is largely a result of his astonishing industry and enthusiasm. The critical-historical point of view in the study of

Hebrew literature has been so clearly and firmly established that only bigotry or ignorance now dare to utter any protest or cavil.

While so much was being done for the Old Testament history and literature, it would be impossible for the general intellectual activity to confine itself to that portion only of the sacred literature of Christianity. Naturally, then, the peculiarly Christian portion of the book, the Canon of the New Testament, was investigated with even greater zeal and earnestness. The pens which contributed so much to a more intelligent understanding of the Hebrew literature also opened the way to a clearer and more exact knowledge of the Greek. De Wette's work in New Testament criticism, though not so important or significant as that done on the Old Testament, was yet of great value, and he was followed by a number of writers in swift succession. The best known of these, Bretschneider, Gieseler, and the great Schleiermacher, before the year 1820, made their contribution towards the solution of the problem of the origin of the Gospels.

Among all the great names in theological literature, of which Germany has furnished so many during this century, one occupies the place of supreme interest in the field of historical criticism. It is a name of ill-omen to orthodox ears, and yet no single writer has done so much to place the science of historical criticism and church history upon a solid basis as he. Ferdinand Christian Baur has been well described by a recent writer "as one of the most eminent representatives of the intellectual nobility of Germany,"¹ the founder of the Tübingen school, and the most striking and conspicuous figure in the great critical movement. His writings cover the whole field of Christian history, and almost every topic in theology, and every subject, was presented in a clear and forcible style, not the common gift of German theologians, and sustained by the widest learning and profoundest research. He was a scholar who combined with the most subtle and penetrating genius a thorough and exhaustive knowledge of the whole field of investigation, and a masterly grasp of the material.

The criticism of the canon, which had been perhaps the most important subject on which the intellectual activity of the new school of critics was engaged, was by him widened until it embraced the whole field of the early church. The scientific principles upon which all historical investigations were being based were by him applied to the history of the Christian church, and especially to that period generally known as the apostolic age.

¹ F. Lichtenberger, *History of German Theology in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 379.

Yet he never forgot that the canon is the real starting-point for any actual progress in the knowledge which we may hope to gain of the Christian church. Consequently some of his most exhaustive and subtle labor was expended upon the questions raised by criticism of the canon. "It is impossible," he says, "to come to any satisfactory conclusion about the historic origin of Christianity, unless one has attained some satisfactory view of the writings which are the only documents belonging to the origin of Christianity."¹

He regards the New Testament not only as the key to the historic development of the church, but as the basis whence we must start to gain a clear knowledge of the growth and development of Christian speculation. "Without an accurate knowledge of the theology of the New Testament, one cannot follow the course of the history of Dogma,"² he says. He also devoted himself with untiring zeal to a reconstruction of the primitive church based upon his acute investigation of the canon, in connection with whatever hints and suggestions he might find scattered throughout the literature of the first and second century. To him belongs the great honor of having first discovered that the key to the history of the apostolic age is Saint Paul. It was here that some of his most brilliant work was done, and all subsequent treatment of Paul and Paulinism has been conditioned by the labors of Baur.

The literature of the first and second century, aside from the canonical writings, being far more scanty than that of later periods, a wide field for speculation and conjecture was opened up, which needed to be exercised in the most judicious and frugal manner. This restraint Baur did not always exercise, and the tone of an advocate rather than of a critic is perceptible in some of the most difficult investigations. The philosophical ideas of Hegel make themselves manifest in his conception of the principles of historic development. Those general principles of historical criticism which were coming into popular use, Baur applied, not to the canon only, but to the whole history of the church. All the literature which belongs to the history is brought under the hammer and tested with the same rigid scientific precision. The Epistles of Ignatius or the Epistles of St. Paul are examined with the same freedom, for no arbitrary line of de-

¹ F. C. Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Kanonischen Evangelien*, Vorrede, S. V.

² *Vorlesungen über die Christliche Dogmengeschichte*, I. B. I. Abt. S. 19.

marcation is drawn where science shall stop and assertion begin. The bias in favor of a peculiar theory of history which he had formed manifests itself through all the wealth of learning and the subtlety of debate. He rejected the old conceptions of the development of the church, and proceeded to construct a new view of its growth, basing it upon the methods of investigation which he believed had never been applied in this field. The result was some of the most original and striking essays in church history that have ever appeared. His theory was advocated with a power and sustained by a mass of learning and an originality of thought greater than any other writer of his time possessed.

The effect upon German and Continental scholars was tremendous. It seemed as if a revolution in theology was at hand. The year 1835 was the critical one in the history of modern German theology. In that year Strauss's "*Leben Jesu*" appeared, and raised a storm whose waves were felt throughout the whole Christian world. Two years previous to the publication of Strauss's "*Leben Jesu*" appeared in England the first of the famous "*Tracts for the Times*." This fact has a significance which it is well to bear in mind. The close relation in point of time indicates how wide and deep the revolt was against the established religious ideas of the age. The difference in character between them shows, on the other hand, what a wide chasm there was between the mental activities of the two people. One is engaged with the body and form of the religious life, the other with the very foundation and essence of the Christian faith. One is historical, the other essential.

The great body of literature which was called forth by the *Tracts* had little in it of permanent value, and the mass of it has long since become obsolete; but the theological literature that owes its origin to Strauss's fierce attack contains some of the most valuable theological writings of the present century, and will influence the whole future of Christian theology in a very positive manner. The interest in the Tractarian controversy is, to a large degree, local; that of the great battle in Germany belongs to Christian thought everywhere.

The importance of the movements, therefore, to the deeper life of the church is by no means of equal value. It will not be necessary to follow the parallel or contrast further, but a close study of the facts will show the great significance of the fourth decade of this century for the Christian church, and reveal upon how much wider and higher a plane the theological mind of Ger-

many has moved in this century than that of England. It was subsequent to this that Baur's chief activity lay. The brilliancy and enthusiasm of the great teacher crowded Tübingen with students, and filled the theological world of Europe with strife. For twenty-five years, or until his death, he was engaged in presenting his labors in every department of history.

At first the new school swept all before it. The orthodox theologians were unprepared for such an attack, and in their attempts to repel it they discovered how useless and futile many of their old weapons were. Year after year the battle raged, gradually extending over a wider field, and year by year it seemed more destructive, and the opposition more weak and helpless. After a time the more conservative scholars began to gain the advantage, and slowly the tide turned, until the once triumphant school was checked, and some of their most important positions overthrown. Investigations quite as careful, and just as free and bold, yet less prejudiced, furnished material for a most effective reply. There is a Tübingen school still, but it is but the echo of the past, and it does not follow into the extremes to which Baur went. It has learned timidity. Wounds make men careful, and teach them to fight with caution. One of the most striking features in a review of this great movement is the change and shifting which has taken place in the views of theological opponents, and the means which are used to defend them. Many of the positions which the Tübingen school held are now occupied, at least in part, by their opponents. The weapons now used in controversy have been forged in the workshop of the critical school. The orthodox party speaks with a new voice, and the language is utterly different from that used half a century ago.

Critical methods are adopted by the leading writers of every university that has any claim to eminence. Germany has won the intellectual supremacy of the world, and the power which she wields is all in the interest of scientific methods.

The radical change in the attitude of the great mass of European scholars within the last half century has many causes, no doubt, yet the most active agency in the revolution of theological thought has been the great advance of scientific and critical methods. In a study of this movement Baur is the most striking figure, yet we should clearly discern what he did do, and what he did not and could not do.

The deepest problem of all, the one about which the thought of this age is moving with ever-increasing earnestness, was left

untouched by him. A recent critic has well stated it. "What was the Christianity of Jesus, and in what relation does it stand on the one hand with Petrinism, and on the other with Paulinism? Such was the great fundamental question which Baur's criticism has passed over in silence."¹

Neander, Dorner, Rothe, Ritschl, Zahn, Weiss, Pfeiderer, Harnack, and hosts of others, both past and present, who have earned for themselves a name and a place in the various fields of historical investigation, have all adopted, with more or less rigidity, the methods which first became known to the world at large in their most offensive form in the school of Baur.

It is not to be supposed that a method which has in reality only been generally adopted for a half century or less, and has as yet reached only an incomplete development or application, should not bear marks of crudity and lack of logical proportion.

The scholars of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had to work their way through many extravagances and exaggerations, and among the great difficulties which they had to encounter not the least was that offered by the nature of the human mind.

A man's thoughts arrange themselves around some theory or conception of life which has been handed down to him by tradition, or which has been the result of his own observation or experience, and this in turn becomes the test, not only of the past, but the present and the future. This central idea becomes the dominant force and weight in his judgment of all events, and every subject which is presented to him for consideration. The actual growth of knowledge takes place slowly and by a process of accumulation, as the waters of numberless springs buried in the hillsides find their way, year after year, into some quiet basin in the hills. Sun and wind drink from the crystal surface, the trees and shrubs on its grassy shores suck through a million roots its living waters. At last the time comes when the fountains can no more find a home in the green and silent valley. The quiet lake rises beyond its borders and, seeking its far-off home in the sea, sweeps away all in its path, leaving but a wreck of many things behind. Men see that a flood has passed through the land, but do not know what it means. New points of view rise before them, but they cannot take them, and cling tenaciously and mournfully to the past. So it was in the second and third centuries, when many a serious Roman and thoughtful Greek refused the

¹ F. Lichtenberger, *History of German Theology in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 389.

new creed, and turned passionate and longing eyes to the fading past, denouncing it in fierce scorn as an "*Exitiabilis Superstitio*." So it was also in the sixteenth century, so it is perhaps not to a less degree in our own age. But the most despondent can console themselves, however, with the words of the far-wandering Ulysses:—

"Though much is taken, much abides."

The testimony of history is that neither age nor novelty, in themselves, are a test of truth, and that truth itself is not fixed, permanent, and absolute, but relative, expansive, and growing. Wise men feel the difficulty of reading the future, and leave the revelation to Him to whom the days and years of man's life are but as shadows.

The new movement, which has attracted so much attention and roused so many fears, must not be regarded as something temporary or local, or restricted to any one department of theological study. In its largest proportions, it includes the whole field of theology. As has been well said: "It must not be supposed that German theology is some obscure and national product, the concern exclusively of the country which gave it birth. . . . Though generated in Germany, it belongs to Christendom. It is the theological movement of the age."¹ It has on its critical side been called "the new" or "the higher" criticism, but in no real sense of the word is it new. That is to say, there is nothing novel about it, or original, as being the discovery or invention of a class of fantastic or eccentric writers unfamiliar with the subjects they treat of. It is a part of the noblest traditions of Protestantism, and is a legitimate and scientific development of its principles. But the question may very properly be raised, "If it is a manifestation of the Protestant spirit, why has it never found expression before?" It did find utterance, and that the most marked and emphatic. All the greatest scholars who have been filled with the genuine scientific spirit have been Protestants, and could have been nothing else. Scaliger, Casaubon, Bentley, were pre-eminently Protestant in their whole intellectual constitution. The reason this spirit did not embody itself before in a universal movement is one that belongs to the very nature of the case. The critical spirit could not find effective expression until proper material was furnished. Texts needed to be revised, editions of ancient authors carefully prepared, old documents analyzed, the

¹ *Essays by the late Mark Pattison*, vol. ii. p. 216.

ruins and inscriptions of antiquity thoroughly studied, and all the various marks and tokens of civilization fully recognized and appraised at their real value, and a true method of study marked out.

European scholars labored with more or less success for more than three centuries before the soil was prepared from which the critical movement of the nineteenth century sprang, and any one who has glanced over the vast field knows that we are still only on the first day of the harvest. Enough has been done, and well done, for us to see what criticism really means, and what it is capable of accomplishing. It is first and chiefly a criticism of documents, but a criticism of the documents in the light of their origin. The literature of the past is submitted to a rigid and scientific examination. Hearsay testimony, second-hand quotations, garbled extracts, are all assigned to their proper places. The author must go upon the witness-stand and submit to a strict cross-examination. As far as possible he must tell his own story, and not other men's thoughts about him. All the long intervening centuries, with their strange, huge growths of tradition, prejudice, and misconception, must be swept aside, and we must listen to this voice, be it of Greek or Roman, as the voice of a living man, telling the story of a life far removed from ours in all its customs, ambitions, dreams, and aspirations. This man looked into a different sky and thought different thoughts from ours. He was moved by different impulses and stirred by different purposes, and out of that old imperial world, buried so far in the past, he has something of infinite worth to teach us if we will but let him speak his own language, and not the language of our modern nineteenth century. And this brings before us a second point of supreme importance for the intelligent understanding of the past, and that is the study of the civilization of the particular period from which our literature or ideas sprang. To use the words of a great scholar, whose loss is most painfully felt by all students of church history, "the study of the growth and modifications of the early forms of Christianity must begin with the study of their environment."¹ The observance of this simple canon is worth more than cartloads of erudition, for it must be evident to every one thoughtfully considering the point that in different countries there must have been different forces moulding the thought and shaping the character as the social type and

¹ *The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usage upon the Christian Church*, by Edwin Hatch, D. D., p. 25.

culture varied. In the study of any organism there is, as a final result of patient investigation, not only the knowledge of the powers and functions of this organism, but also that of the causes and influences which lay outside of it, and affect it in a thousand subtle ways. It is the scientific student alone who has a clear conception of the vast extent and the endless forms under which the surroundings or environment of any life influence and modify it. If in turn this environment can be submitted to a careful examination, new suggestions and new truths begin to emerge, and it becomes possible to estimate just how much of that peculiar life is what we may call original, and how much of its special forms and relations are the result of external forces operating upon it. So in the study of any institutions which have been part of the history of man, in the examination of any organizations which have largely influenced the growth and development of human life, we discover that one source of their power has been in their ability to absorb all that is most powerful in the life around them, and reflect the best and highest influences of the civilization in which they live, without losing their individual energy and character.

"The survival of the fittest" is not a mere phrase, but a truth that has its evidence written as well in history as in science.

That institution is most potent which is most elastic and susceptible to all the most vigorous influences around it, and in its growth we see the effect of the soil in which it is planted, and the presence of all the vital forces in its surroundings. The environment of any organism does not generate the life of that organism, but it does modify it most profoundly and seriously. In the history of any powerful institution we expect to see preserved the various periods through which it has passed lying as in a geological formation which preserves in the iron grasp of its various strata the life of far distant ages. Church historians tell us of the influence of the church upon the history of Europe, but the influence of Europe on the history of the church is a truth fully as important and necessary for a clear understanding of the real history of the church. It should not be expected that Christianity, or the Christian church alone, should be exempted from the great historic law of which we have been speaking. On close examination it is manifest that it is not. The Christian church of any age, along with its special Christian elements, bears the decided stamp of the particular age in which we study it. This is admitted without hesitation of one of the most pie-

turesque and striking periods of Christian history, that of the Middle Ages. It is readily granted that what we call the Mediæval Church could only have existed in an age in which feudal ideas and feudal forms of life were dominant. The most imposing feature of mediæval history is the Latin Church of the thirteenth century. It may be described as the Christian church plus the Middle Ages. What is true of this church is true of the church of every age. The thought and life of the time is marked upon it and enters into it. The constant struggle going on within the bosom of the church is to keep alive its perpetual power of adaptation, without at the same time sacrificing its personal identity and special life, and when the two forces exist in harmonious relations we have a vigorous and powerful organism.

These general truths are admitted in a general way, but when they are applied to the history of the early church they excite unfeigned dislike and opposition. Yet when we study that vast civilization that rested secure and peaceful under the wings of the eagle, we see powerful currents of thought, deep and venerable national instincts, long religious traditions gray with age and sacred by the worship of generations, vast and complicated systems of philosophy whose influence was felt in the lives of the most ignorant, and subtle and mysterious tendencies too vague to submit to a strict definition, yet which characterize every age and determine the mood of their generation in a very marked degree. When we see these things, and they all lie there clear and distinct in the wonderful daylight of that past, we cannot escape the conviction that an organization which was destined to have influence upon the world in which it lived, and the generation with which it came in contact, must be affected in the course of its development, both of life and thought, by that complex life which represents the vital forces of every period, and which we call its civilization. The more deeply the life of the empire is studied, the more clearly is perceived how closely the life of the church is related to it, and how deeply influenced by it.

Every wave that sweeps through that great ocean raises a sympathetic movement in the Christian church. As a summary of the total relations of the Christian church and the Roman imperial civilization in which it lived, and at the same time as the full expression of the historic law of environment, no words state it better than those of the German historian: "The development of the Christian church in the Roman-Grecian world was not at the same time a development of this world through the church, and,

farther, through Christianity at large. Nothing remains as a result of this process save the existing church. '*The world which built it had in it built itself bankrupt.*'"¹

So, also, the most strict and rigid philological principles are applied in the interpretation of the past Christian ages. No distinctions are recognized which do not declare themselves. The meaning of the Scriptures is ascertained by the same methods by which the meaning of Homer or Thucydides, of Tacitus or Livy, is ascertained. Theological prejudice and ecclesiastical tradition have nothing to do with strict scientific criticism. The Bible and the Fathers have one meaning, and one meaning only, and it is the purpose of criticism to discover what that meaning is, without reference to any other claims but those of truth.

The acute saying of Scaliger, "*Non aliunde dissidia in religione pendent quam ab ignoratione Grammaticae,*"² is receiving daily verification.

Among all the diversities which exist among critical commentators to-day, there is little or no divergence upon the most important points, and there is a growing approximation upon most of the points of controversy.

At the basis of the whole movement, and also as an outgrowth of its development, becomes manifest a profound philosophical principle whose validity is increasingly recognized, and which is entirely in harmony with all modern teaching and the movement of the modern mind. It is that the law of the development of history is the same, and the universal experiences of mankind come under the same general principles. The dualistic method which claims for one branch of history, or one field of research, methods which do not apply or hold good in other fields, is denied any philosophical basis or validity. If history is a science, there is only one science of history, not two or many. Historical truth is one, and the methods of its investigation are the same in every field which can claim anything like a scientific investigation. As documents which belong to the literature of the religion of Greece and Rome, of Egypt and India, are examined according to certain well-known principles of evidence, so must the Hebrew and Christian literature submit to the same principles of examination, else we can have no guaranty that the results attained rest upon any legitimate basis, or make any legitimate claims upon our recognition.

¹ R. Rothe, *Vorlesungen über Kirchengeschichte*, Zweiter Theil, S. 8.

² Jacob Bernays, *Joseph Justus Scaliger*, S. 19.

One chief reason why there is such profound dissatisfaction in the minds of a large number of intelligent persons is because they do not feel that the religious literature of Christendom has been treated by methods which are regarded as of universal validity in every other field of human knowledge.

The aim of criticism is to do just this work, and rest the claims and evidences of Christian history upon a basis of accuracy as scientific and substantial as any other history. It is well to bear in mind what the true purpose and object of New Testament criticism has been. It is frequently spoken of, by those who know nothing of it, as "destructive criticism," but it may be laid down as a positive fact, beyond question or doubt, that anything purely destructive ends by destroying itself. Bare and naked negation has no life in it. Positive forces alone continue, and New Testament criticism has displayed an activity and energy that manifests a solid and durable purpose. Its aim has been no more destructive than that of the archæologist who removes the shabby dwellings that are built upon some buried city in order that he may lay bare to the light of day that hidden past, and let it tell the story of those long-forgotten days in the shattered arches and broken walls, the ruined altars and empty markets, the unknown graves and silent streets. What the critics have sought to discover in Scripture was not the religion of the third century, or the tenth, or the thirteenth, but the religion of Jesus, and have striven to stand face to face with the Son of man as He actually walked and talked in sunny Galilee so long ago. It has been a passionate, devout, and spiritual purpose that has led them on through all their many labors, seeking to discover the actual meaning of the Bible, and to find that sacred face without any stain of time upon its great perfection.

Never, in the whole long history of the church, has so much solid thinking and writing been done about Jesus Christ, as in Germany in these last ninety years. This means something, — something infinitely more than those who have launched so much thin vituperation against German criticism have the faintest or dimmest conception of.

Unquestionably, numerous blunders have been made, but no more so than in the beginnings of the scientific study of any other department of human knowledge. It is the results which have been attained and those which seem to be involved which, in reality, have caused far more perturbation than the commencement of the application of scientific methods to this field.

Let us take a hasty glance at some of the chief results which have been reached. In the first place, the position and character of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament have been much changed. The uses and applications which can be made of them have been more strictly defined as a result of a clearer knowledge of their nature. Each book belongs to a certain period of human history ; it was produced under certain social and religious conditions ; it had a special aim and purpose lying behind its origin, all of which can be more or less clearly ascertained by patient study of its contents.

These books are literature, and show the literary character which belongs to all products of the human pen. They are historical, poetical, or prophetic, as the case may be, and as a consequence the very designation furnishes a key to their interpretation, and establishes in our minds an expectation of what can there be found, and how it is to be received and appropriated. A law of value and proportion at once appears, and a real pertinency and application is demanded in all appeals to them, and the integrity of a man's judgment is not confused and embarrassed by random and haphazard applications. The Bible thus becomes a rich and beautiful picture of the past, with far perspectives stretching into the remote distance, here and there dim recesses where the soul's desire or the soul's agony is poured out in unearthly and mysterious beauty, and over and through it all is the atmosphere of a divine purpose and a divine presence which fills the student with the sure conviction that that purpose and that presence are not absent in his own experience, and in the life which he and thousands of others are struggling to understand to-day.

Whatever may be said for or against the critical school, it cannot be denied that the Bible is the key to its position, the basis from which it starts, and that the Bible is a more living book to-day than it has been since the eager, hungry souls of men clung to it and studied it in the stormy days of the sixteenth century.

Another contribution of the critical method has been the establishment of a new science or department of theological study, namely, Biblical Theology. The name, as a separate branch of theological science, to many even to whom the ordinary branches of this science are perfectly familiar, is almost unknown. It represents, however, a real thing, and it has its origin in that careful and microscopic examination to which the different portions of Scripture were subjected. All theological systems have claimed to be Biblical, and so long as they appealed to the Scrip-

tures their claim was acknowledged, or at least not disputed, except by their opponents. The assumption was that a definite system of doctrine lay embedded in the Scripture, that its origin and purpose were doctrinal, and that all the parts stood in harmonious and scientific relation to each other. The moment the various books were investigated, it became apparent that different points of view existed, and that the spirit of each book was affected, not by logical theories, but by spiritual experience and personal conviction.

The subject can only be referred to here, but it is one of the positive results of the critical movement which has proved of the greatest and most permanent value, and is destined to exert wide and most beneficial influences on the future study of theology. Little is known of it in this country, comparatively speaking, and all that is known has been drawn from the Germans.

In the wide and well-known field of dogmatics, the influence of the critical movement has been most pronounced and effective.

It is true that the deepest influence exercised directly upon the field of theology in this century sprang from Schleiermacher, and to the power of his great genius, more than to that of any other man, is due the vast changes in theological thought which mark this century as the turning-point from the past to a new and wonderful future, whose outlines are but dimly unfolding themselves. He delivered theology from its barren scholasticism and ineffective logic, and grounded it upon the experience of the living spirit having its basis in man's consciousness of God. Yet, notwithstanding the labors of Schleiermacher, the purely critical movement was destined, from the results attained in the field of exegesis and of history, to revolutionize theology. And there is no inherent reason why theology should not advance beyond the doctrinal platforms of the sixteenth century, or at least, grasping anew the great principle of the Reformation, develop the spiritual life from the basis of men's added experience and knowledge.

The sixteenth century, starting from the basis of the new free life of the soul in God, presented and emphasized just those truths which the age needed, and in just such relations and proportions as the times called for and the necessities of the spiritual life of the age suggested and permitted. Great and fundamental truths were misunderstood, misused, and even abused, and some of the deepest importance to our own age were either comparatively neglected or played a subordinate part.

It is no disparagement of the great men of the sixteenth cen-

tury to say they could not span the whole heaven of truth, or formulate systems of thought and modes of conceiving God's relations to the race which would be suitable for men of a different age and with different needs. Each generation must do its own thinking, and realize for itself the relations that exist between it and God, and stand firm by the conviction that, as He was guiding and directing the men of the past, so He is still guiding the race in its search for light and peace.

Beneath the tenacity with which men cling to the strict letter of the logical definitions of the past often lies an incipient unbelief and a latent atheism which needs to be fully exposed before a man can attain the solid ground of personal faith. In ages of calm and tranquillity men think they can live on formulas, but in ages of change and revolution their life must find its source and centre in God, or they become blind obstructionists of the divine purpose.

The aim of theology is to bring man into living communion with God, or at least express the conscious results of this fellowship. To bring before the mind the real nature of the task, and trace the means adopted for its fulfillment in the past, has been the work of historical theology, and historical theology is a child of the critical movement. It has been not destructive merely or chiefly. It is reconstructive. It aims to set forth the value and worth of theology, and it began with the beginning. Across the pages of the Bible were written many cherished systems, many devout theories; theology after theology, crossing and recrossing, covered all its lines. Passages were so buried under a mass of interpretations of an arbitrary character that none knew what the true meaning was. The critics began to erase these various writings, and to try to discover what was originally written on this sacred palimpsest. Steadily and patiently they pursued their task, and now we know more of the theology of the apostles than has been known in centuries. The various systems, in their long succession from the Alexandrians of the third century to the Tractarians of the nineteenth, pass before the eye of the critic, and make whatever contribution they have, valuable or otherwise, towards the great problem of man's life, and the thoughts and feelings that unite him with God.

In the field of church history proper, the critic has been busy as in no other department of theological science except exegesis, and in the field of church history we are able to see more clearly the value of scientific principles, and the great results achieved by

their application. From what has been already said on another page, it will be only necessary to draw attention to the fact that now it is a science. Mere learning and knowledge of facts are no more the sole qualifications of an historian than a knowledge of the current phenomena of nature constitutes a physicist. Behind all phenomena lie principles, and only when these principles are known, arranged, and applied can we say we have a science of the subject. There is such a science of church history to-day, and it is the noblest fruit of the critical movement of the nineteenth century. To quote from a recent writer on the subject: "We may hear, if we will, the solemn tramp of the science of history marching slowly, but marching always to conquest. . . . In front of it, as in front of the physical sciences, is chaos; behind it is order."¹

The critical movement stands in historic relations to the sixteenth century. It is the offspring of the German Protestant spirit.

Germany is Protestant, has been so for more than three hundred years, and will remain so. The critical spirit represents the higher intellectual attitude of Protestantism. Our Christian sympathies should not blind us to facts, or lead our judgment into foolish paths. Nothing can stand against the demands of the Christian intelligence and the Christian reason. They who look for a reconciliation of Romanism and Protestantism, of Ecclesiasticism and Criticism, are dreaming idle dreams, having no knowledge of the principles upon which these opposing parties stand, and the eternal antagonism that exists between them.

As the Reformation in the sixteenth century in the end carried the Teutonic nations with it, so will the critical movement of the nineteenth century carry the higher intellectual life of Protestantism with it, because it is moving in the path of right reason and of science.

Stewart Means.

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

¹ Edwin Hatch, *The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church*, pp. 23, 24.

THE CHALLENGE OF LIFE.

"And all as we've got to do is to trusten, Master Marner, — to do the right thing as fur as we know, and to trusten. For if us as knows so little can see a bit o' good and rights, we may be sure as there's a good and a rights bigger nor what we can know, — I feel it i' my own inside as it must be so." — *Silas Marner.*

TOURISTS who have visited Brussels will recall the Musée Wiertz, and the impressions made upon them by the paintings of that eccentric genius. His mind, bitterly cynical to a morbid degree, wrought in the region of the grotesquely horrible, and would seem to have dwelt almost entirely upon war and wickedness and woe. Like exaggeration and one-sidedness characterize the views of life prevalent in the pessimist philosophy. This somewhat pretentious school of the prophets has its Elijah in the gloomy Schopenhauer. It has also its Elisha, milder, more conciliatory, and more immediately successful, who none the less wears the elder's mantle, having fallen heir to his spirit. Just half a century after the publication of the great work of Schopenhauer appeared his successor, the ex-artillery officer, Eduard von Hartmann, who at the age of twenty-two began, and four years after, in 1868, published, "*The Philosophy of the Unconscious*," a work which, in striking contrast with the fortunes of its predecessor, very shortly ran through many editions.

Hartmann's is to-day perhaps the most popular philosophy in Germany. He claims to be something more than a mere disciple of Schopenhauer, whose system he has indeed, in important particulars, modified. He repudiates the subjective idealism wherein Schopenhauer followed Kant. In the eighth chapter of his *Second Book* he clearly argues for the position which Kantians are wont to ridicule, but which would seem not without support from common sense, namely, that Space and Time are *both* objective forms of existence and subjective forms of thought. Schopenhauer's ultimate principle was Will alone. Hartmann with Will unites the Idea in his absolute world-principle, the Unconscious. Design he finds everywhere, and is pronounced regarding teleology, introducing an ingenious mathematical demonstration of the certainty of purpose in the arrangements of nature. Instinct he finds to be "purposive action without consciousness of the purpose." He argues against the Cartesian theory of instinct, which made it purely mechanical. With Hartmann, instinct is conscious

willing of the means to an unconsciously willed end. There is in it an element of sure presentiment and clairvoyance. It need not reflect, does not vacillate or doubt, and never errs. These assertions of a mysterious infallibility we cannot fully accept, if we are to defer to authorities like Wallace. This eminent naturalist recognizes imitation, memory, observation, and reasoning, as often entering into instinct; instances evidence of its fallibility in the nest-building and the migration of birds; and further adduces, as a reason for the perfection to be observed in instinct, the extreme severity of the selection during its development, so destructive to the unfortunate. When, however, Hartmann proceeds to trace instinct in the human mind, he would seem to be in harmony with the latest and soundest conclusions, namely, that there is between intelligence and instinct no absolute opposition, but that they pass into each other by insensible gradations, and that the reason of man has its shadows, types, and rudiments in other animals.

The manifestations of his mysterious Unconscious Hartmann traces through the phenomena of bodily life, and then further through sexual love, feeling, character, and morality, the artistic faculty, language, thought, mysticism, human history, under each of these several heads giving what is often a brilliant treatise. He makes much of the instinctive and the spontaneous, much of unconscious cerebration, much of the intuitive and the mystical. Throughout he refuses to see in evolution merely a mechanical process, and is spiritualistic in his recognition of a principle to which the mechanism is a means. His philosophy is anti-materialistic in its general aim. Conscious mental activity, as we shall see, he hands over to materialism; but the Unconscious, in his system, is thoroughly transcendental. Having explained force as will, matter he regards as a conglomerate of fiats of the Unconscious. The world is only a sum of the activities of this Omnipotent and Omniscient Power, ever renewing its functions in a continuous creation. Indeed, he sometimes approaches so closely to Theism that, in his sixth edition, he felt it worth while to insert a chapter on the Unconscious and the God of Theism. Here he goes so far as to designate his world-power of infallible intelligence as at once unconscious and super-conscious. His whole system bears largely in this direction, and, with its further development, his language becomes very nearly theistic, as he descants upon the supreme wisdom of the Creator, World-orderer, or World-governor. The approach, however, is from the side of

a pantheism, out of which he does not emerge. Divine personality he denies, and, of course, with it, all human personality. The self, that says I, is a mere result of activities of the Unconscious One which is All. It is only a passing phenomenon, like the rainbow in the cloud.

Where, now, in this philosophy of the Unconscious Super-conscious, is the place of consciousness itself? It has an important part to play in Hartmann's world-drama. Throughout the earlier unfolding of the vast plot, in the action of the Unconscious, will and intellect work together in an inseparable unity. At last there is an interruption, and an intrusion upon the scene. In the brain, organized matter suddenly breaks in upon the peace of the Unconscious. The reaction thrusts upon it an idea which it did not will, and the startling by this idea from without is consciousness. We will not pause to consider the difficulties of this conception. Let us observe it finds that, in consciousness, thus something may be presented without being willed. The hitherto inseparable unity between intellect and will is severed, and in consciousness lies the possibility of the emancipation of the intellect from the will. Through it may be wrought what Hartmann calls redemption and salvation. Redemption and salvation from what?

The question brings us to Hartmann's pessimism. We must glance at the apex of the pyramid he claims to have built up by inductive knowledge. Schopenhauer had made conscious intellect merely a parasite of will, which was his only principle. Hartmann, noticing that the great works of Schopenhauer and Hegel appeared in the same year, 1818, and recalling the latter's observation that, where several philosophers synchronously appear, they will represent different aspects of a single whole, combines in a higher synthesis, in his Unconscious, Schopenhauer's a-logical Will and Hegel's logical Idea. Our space does not suffice for a full discussion of his somewhat fantastic metaphysics. As regards the will-factor in this world-principle, he follows Schopenhauer, in finding pure volition to be an eternal pining, absolute pain and unblissedness. With this unhappy factor is joined the Idea. One cannot help thinking of Dante's lines which tell how the ruler of hell

"Giunse quel mal voler, che pur mal chiede,
Con l' intelletto."¹

¹ "He joined that evil will, which seeks but evil,
To intellect."

In the Unconscious are joined Will and Idea in a nuptial union, whereof the creation is issue. The Idea, femininely passive, is, as purely ideal being, in a state of blessed innocence. Seized and dragged down by the active and insatiable Will, it yields up that maiden innocence. Thus from the embrace of these two super-existent principles, the volitional and the ideal, is engendered the creation, owing to its father *that* it is, and to its mother *what* and *how* it is. The Idea, seeking release from this miserable connection with the incessant striving of volition, at length deludes the blindly eager Will into constructing a brain. Hence arises consciousness, and therewith the possibility of dividing the will against itself in the individual, and, by divorce of the wretched union with will, emancipating the intellect. It is thus the very mission of consciousness, born in pain, to see through the irrationality of existence. As strongly as any optimist, Hartmann takes issue with Schopenhauer's position that the world is the worst possible. Its maternal derivation from the ideal would guarantee that, of all possible worlds, the existing one is the best. So far Leibnitz was right. But Hartmann goes on to ask, Is the existing world worse than none at all? This further question is settled by reference to the paternal derivation of the world. What and how it is was determined by Supreme Reason. But *that* it is at all is owing to the other parental factor, the irrational will. Its existence is therefore irrational, and, notwithstanding the supreme wisdom to be observed in it, it is worse than no world at all.

This *a priori* proof Hartmann follows by an *a posteriori* argument, wherein he proceeds to strike a balance between pleasures and pains, as if he had a table of weights and measures for that subtle process, and finds that the pain outweighs the happiness. He is careful to dissent from Schopenhauer's assertion of the negative character of pleasure. But a consideration of nervous fatigue, increasing the pain of pain and diminishing the pleasure of pleasure, comes to pretty much the same thing, and the conclusion is reached that pain is direct and pleasure chiefly indirect, and that the latter does not by a good deal balance the former. Happiness is a mere delusion. Hartmann ambitiously makes three stages of the illusion. The first stage is the dream of happiness attainable by the individual in his earthly life. Without much system, except as determined by prejudged conviction, a survey is taken of health, youth, freedom and a competence, appetite, compassion, friendship, domestic felicity, and other things

that may be supposed to make life happy ; and everywhere is exposed the folly and inevitable misery of such supposition. Thus men are driven to the second stage, where happiness is conceived as attainable by the individual in a transcendent life after death. This hope Hartmann, rejecting immortality, asserts to be thoroughly illusive. This stage, is the link between the first and third stages. Secular aims palpably gain in extent and interest, and there is an advance to the third stage, where happiness is sought not beyond, but within, the world-process itself, and relegated to the future of this world. But this hope, like its predecessors, is doomed to disappointment. Progress brings no more happiness. With the progressive development of humanity rather increases the misery, and also the consciousness of misery. His three stages of the illusion he finds typified in the child's living for the present moment ; the youth's dreams of transcendent ideals ; the man's ambition for glory, for gain, and practical science, giving place to the weariness of old age. He finds them exemplified in ages of history, the ancient world, Judaic, Greek, Roman, with various visions of terrestrial felicity, then Christianity with its faith in immortality, and now modern times with their secular hope in this world's development. The result is an ever enhanced consciousness of the unspeakable wretchedness of existence.

Nevertheless, through those three stages of the illusion there is a continuous progress toward the goal of the vast evolution. What is that goal ? The proximate end, we have seen, is consciousness. But what is the ultimate end, to which consciousness is a means ? Hartmann answers, Happiness. This, however, he has found to be a mere illusion, impossible of realization. The very purpose of consciousness is to recognize the misery of existence, and to achieve redemption from its unblessedness. And the ultimate end of the world-process is thus to realize the greatest attainable happiness, namely, a state of painlessness. How ? Schopenhauer's method, through ceasing to will and personal annihilation, is repudiated as selfishly individual. Hartmann conceives of a redemption of the whole world, and not through such passive quietism, but through active coöperation with the world's development. In all seriousness he thus conjectures of a possible end of all things hereafter. Humanity, having come to comprise the outweighing quantity of the active spirit and will in the world, shall at last, by this philosophy educated up to the recognition of the misery of all existence, through a simultaneous common resolve, "cause the whole Cosmos to disappear, at a stroke, by with-

drawal of the volition, which alone gives it existence," and thus, by unanimous or majority vote, "hurl back the total actual volition into nothingness, by which the process of the world ceases, and ceases, indeed, without any residuum whatever whereby the process might be continued."¹ O most lame and impotent conclusion! The philosophy of despair, that makes its goal the annihilation of all existence, would seem to dig its own grave and write its epitaph.

It is perhaps too early to assign to Hartmann his true place in philosophy. He is still in his prime, vigorous and prolific. He will probably modify certain of his positions. Indeed, he has, in later publications, himself exposed some of his unscientific methods. There remains, however, his main drift, which there is no mistaking. Difficult as it may sometimes seem to take his philosophy seriously, nevertheless most serious problems it has certainly propounded. Its palpable fallacies we are not concerned here to discuss, nor its continuation by other writers in variously mitigated or exaggerated forms. Like the evil genie that escaped from the fisherman's jar and, extending along the seashore, formed a great mist, so the mist of pessimism has gotten out of the confines of philosophy, and cannot be permanently conjured back again. It is in the air to-day, and is making its way into the daily life and speech of men. To a larger extent than many are aware of, it infects the literature, overshadows the art, and weaves its spell in the music, of our time. Whatever may be said of the causes, or of the future outcome, of pessimism, its mission would seem to be to compel attention to a matter of supreme importance, the worth of existence. It is a question concerning life, as it is delineated, for example, by Balzac, that Barye for the human species. The comedy of human life, on this wide and universal theatre, seeming one moment terrific tragedy, and the next despicable farce, what is its meaning and import? Is it worth playing out by these foredone, heart-weary players? Is it better to be or not to be? — that's the question, and it has to be answered. We may criticise the details of a pessimistic philosophy. Meanwhile, it is audaciously challenging existence itself. That challenge must not be allowed to pass unheeded. Boldly the gauntlet has been thrown down. How shall the challenge be met?

The increasing pessimism of our time cannot be repulsed by an extreme optimism, that shuts its eyes to the deeper and darker facts of life. That was forever exposed by Voltaire in "Candide."

¹ *Philosophy of the Unconscious*, Book C, chapter xiv.

Of the two extremes, pessimism is the less flippant, more earnest, and more faithful to fact. An easy-going, shallow optimism must almost inevitably produce a reaction.

Consider now the moderate meliorism advocated by Mr. James Sully.¹ This able author makes Will, not, as do the pessimists, the father, but rather the foe, of life's misery. He dwells upon the possibility of increasing happiness through volition, resisting evil and dominating circumstances; and argues for a wise control of the conditions of experience to such a degree as to extract from life's possibilities a moderate, if not a goodly, heap of treasure. But on this low ground of mere calculation the assault upon the value of life itself cannot be successfully repulsed. For thus the question becomes to a large extent merely one of temperament in connection with circumstance: the sanguine, the superficial, the favored, on one side, on the other the more earnest, the melancholy, the unfortunate. Nor can that assault be repulsed on the ground of increased material comfort. Improvement in the means of living does not bring content with life itself. Suppose all hard conditions eliminated, we should still be left to face Hartmann's question: "What then to do with this life; with what substance of inner worth is it to be filled?"

Nor, against despair of life, will avail a trust in mere political or socialistic expedients. It must be recognized that social and political conditions should be included in an account of the present prevalence of pessimism, for example, in unhappy Russia, with its anarchistic vagaries, its semi-religious fanaticism of despair, and the wholesale suicide, not only of political prisoners, but also of peasants in their village homes. Far be it from us to deprecate efficacious reforms. But while such may mitigate certain of the ills of men, they can never eradicate those deepest and darkest facts that confront and appall humanity, — for example, sin and death. And, as Hartmann further says, "every approach to the ideal of the best life attainable on earth must make the question as to the absolute value of this life only an ever more burning one." Suppose all political and social evils remedied, and still would be left the great causes of suffering, in the very conditions of life, the inevitable limitations of man's lot. "The web of our life is of a mingled yarn, good and ill together." The threads that cannot be pulled out from that darker woof woven across the warp, what shall we do with them? Before these insoluble fac-

¹ *Pessimism*, London, 1877.

tors, in the mysterious problem of trouble, how shall the mind be satisfied, the moral sense content, the inner spirit braced?

This moral result cannot, I venture to assert, be successfully accomplished by any utilitarian views of life or hedonistic morality. Any system of ethics which makes pleasure supreme is morally inadequate to the requirements. The difficulty here is that such a system is ethics with the ethical left out. It deals, as it were, with the outer shell only, or the material mechanism, of morals. Without entering upon a consideration in detail, it is perhaps enough to observe that hedonism got a fatal wound in Mill's distinction of one pleasure from another in quality. If the pleasure of the drunkard in degrading himself, or of the libertine in degrading others, be lower than the pleasure of the artist in achieving beauty, or of the philanthropist in relieving misery, what is the standard of measure by which you reckon lower and higher? Each is pleasure. If the higher pleasure is preferable to the lower pleasure, then something else than pleasure constitutes the difference and the preferableness. The scale by which to compare pleasures cannot be furnished by pleasure itself. There is, then, something beyond pleasure by which we determine the worth of pleasures, and pleasure is not ultimate and supreme.

As against pessimism, the unavailability of hedonism is manifest from the following considerations. It is essentially self-interested, and so tends ultimately to depression, by the very curse of selfishness. The life must be dull and joyless, if in the shadow of self exaggerated till it hides each genial ray. It is a poor sort of pleasure that is gotten by thinking primarily about the pleasure. The pleasure-seeker is bound to be disappointed and restless. Real happiness is found only when not sought, is coy, and must be won by indirect approach, else eluding pursuit. Direct assault invites disastrous defeat. Further, even if the happiness sought were gained, therein the man would not find full satisfaction. Howsoever it got there, there is a spirit in man. There is a hunger in him which cannot be thus appeased. Take the voluptuary. The more he lives for pleasure, the hotter and more restless will be the fever of desire, and he the more tormented in its flame. Because he is a man, it is impossible that he should be satisfied with any multiplication of pleasures:—

“He made a feast, drank fierce and fast,
And crown'd his head with flowers, —
No easier nor no quicker pass'd
The impracticable hours.”

That shade of dissatisfaction is to be detected over all Epicurean views of life. Even the genial Horace has his melancholy undertone wherein he sings life's evanescence : —

“Dum loquimur, fugerit invida

Ætas : carpe diem quam minimum credula postero” —

or the weariness of unprofitable days : —

“Sic mihi tarda fluunt ingrataque tempora.”

In Hebrew literature, Ecclesiastes shows the oscillation from pleasure-seeking to pessimism. On the other hand, the Persian astronomer-poet, Omar Khayyám, passes from pessimism to sensual indulgence ; and, however mystical, and even satirical, may be regarded by critics the praise of pleasure in his sad yet voluptuous verse, he never seems to have emerged from that passionate pessimism of a pleasure-loving soul. Byron, again, whose ethical poverty is in proportion to his lyric wealth, never quite shakes off the influence of the miasma that had early infected his nature ; and with his passion for pleasure goes his forlorn despondency, as with the fever the chill. A like transition is to be elsewhere frequently observed. Says Amiel, writing of the blasphemy of pessimism : “And yet it is all logical ; it is the philosophy of happiness carried to its farthest point. Epicurism must end in despair.” The gratification of ambition, also, often reveals to a man the vanity of the pursuit, and the misery gnawing at his heart. It is the general confession of earthly greatness. Pope Adrian V., in Purgatory, speaks like the veriest pessimist of his elevation to that most exalted position : —

“Così scopersi la vita bugiarda.

Vidi che l'í non si quetava il core.”¹

If man is made to be happy, why is he not happy ? That is a question easy to ask, but harder to answer, because of the condition that is assumed. Both hedonism and pessimism assume happiness as the sole good, the only desirable end and aim of existence. This assumption makes the transition from one to the other very easy. By a natural reaction, hedonism leads to pessimism. It is only turning up the reverse of the same medal. Hartmann declares the only thing to which could be assigned absolute value to be happiness, elsewhere asserting that morality and justice are valid only as means to happiness. From this

¹ Then I discovered life to be a lie.

I saw that there the heart was not at rest,

Purgatory, xix. 108, 109.

hedonistic point of view the pessimistic outlook is most natural. If happiness be the standard, then, generally, life is a failure. Even pessimists, however, cannot divest themselves of the suspicion of another standard of value. An English writer, who avows himself to be of the pessimistic camp, says that, granting the possibility of a really happy life, the first question with the pessimist is: "Has such a happy life really a higher value than pleasureless but also painless non-existence?"¹ It is an implicit admission of the inadequacy of happiness as the standard of value.

Take pleasure of a nobler sort than we have glanced at. Suppose that law of transference, whereby we might ethically pass from egoistic to universalistic hedonism, and make the end of life to be the happiness of all; not then should we be secure from the suspicion of the vanity of it all, the question whether the game were worth the candle. There is impressive testimony upon this point in the fifth chapter of Mill's "Autobiography," where he records his painful awakening from that dream of universal happiness. The whole passage is noteworthy, but too familiar to be here quoted at length. Therein he says: "The whole foundation on which my life was constructed fell down. . . . I seemed to have nothing left to live for." Again he says: "I felt that the flaw in my life must be a flaw in life itself." He is, in spite of his theory that happiness is the end, nevertheless driven "to treat, not happiness, but some end external to it, as the purpose of life."

Hedonism, again, is powerless, in the presence of that mystery upon which the attention of pessimism is concentrated, namely, pain. Says the English pessimist already quoted: "To the eye of cool reason the world seems as good as possible because it is a real logical process; in the eudæmonistic point of view, it is worse than no world because the path whereon the *logos* strides from victory to victory is a path of suffering to the creature."² Surely, then, cool reason must suspect that point of view. Rationally considered, the world shows a progress. As evidently that progress disregards pain, save to use it as means. Therefore the purpose in the progress must be something else than pleasure or pain, something to which pleasure and pain are only means. There is in pain a certain mysterious import. The uses which it evidently serves are secondary and limited. They do not suffice for complete explanation. Is pain a kind of police, to warn in danger, and to ward off disturbance, to preserve order, and coerce to observance

¹ *Mind*, vol. iv. p. 52.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 88.

of laws? But it is found playing the part of a foe to peace, of a fierce mob seizing possession, to paralyze, waste, and destroy. Is it the minister of justice, to execute penalties for violation of law? But it oftener involves the innocent with, or instead of, the guilty. There are instances which baffle explanation on the ground of benefit, of punishment, or even of discipline. Pain is a mystery which, in the power of a strange fascination, sternly beckons us on to its solution in something beyond.

For that ulterior something, the principle which alone, I believe, is adequate to explain pain, namely, sacrifice, for this, also, hedonism has no legitimate place. Its altruism is of a mild type that does not imprudently waste itself, nor suicidally throw itself away in absolute self-devotion. What, however, were the world, how much less worthy, how much less glorious, if all its toil and sweat of unselfish struggle, all its unrewarded patience, all its pain of sacrifice, all its blood of brave battle, all its forlorn hopes of heroism, all its fire of martyrdom, had never been! And such things allure the human heart to-day. Opportunities for such things it instinctively feels to be the supreme and culminating moments of existence. It is not the thought of happiness that elicits the highest notes, or stirs the deepest chords, in human nature. Self-devotion may glorify life and bless it, as no "enlightened self-interest" ever could. Who but one who had found that blessedness of sacrifice, could write of life as James Hinton wrote? "Will my friends try after I am dead,—for I cannot do it myself, I cannot say it as I mean and wish to tell the world,—how beautiful and rich, and absolutely good, full of joy and gladness beyond all that the heart can wish or imagination paint, I feel that the world is, this human life. I know it by my own, which is no exception, but only life made smaller, that it may be seen. . . . 'This is what all human life is, all like this little bit of yours; *be glad*.' . . . So much does this life surpass what we thought of it, so overwhelmed and merged and lost and sunk in gladness."¹ Hinton made sacrifice the key to the hardest problems of existence. Surely, in losing himself, he had found the blest secret of life.

Mr. Sully, in his work already alluded to, argues from the hedonistic standpoint, and he finds himself obliged to concede that the establishment of pessimism would without doubt tend to the rejection of hedonism.² But, I would ask, is not pessimism any way the *reductio ad absurdum* of hedonism? Surely it shows what the

¹ *Life and Letters*, p. 294.

² Chapter vi.

ethics of feeling at last must come to, in such a world as this. Pessimistic thought threatens the foundations of hedonism. On the other hand, hedonism offers a very feeble and inadequate defense against the appalling array of dark facts which cannot be denied, and sombre conclusions therefrom to be drawn on utilitarian principles. Notwithstanding those dark facts, men will continue to esteem life to be precious. But it will be, I venture to say, upon a severely ethical basis of value. Even Mr. Sully hints at a possible rejection of his standpoint, in favor of another basis, as, for example, the supreme value of moral development.

It is not upon the low ground of any happiness, howsoever or whensoever, now or hereafter, that life is to be vindicated against pessimistic questioning and despair. Our stand must be taken upon the lofty position of a moral life, to which all else is subordinated, embracing moral ends to which both pain and pleasure are means. When duty is placed upon her throne, the realm of life is secure. When virtue for its own sake is recognized in its due precedence, as end of life, then, despite all failure otherwise, the end remains unmoved, and life is vindicated. Of this moral order a prime element is the fact of personality. Behind all doing of duties is the being, endowed with life, and therefore capable of growth, endowed with conscious life, and therefore capable of effort, toward perfection, toward the realization, that is, of the possibilities felt within and pressing for fulfillment. Thus are given that aim and purpose for humanity, the very suspicion of the absence of which casts a shade of melancholy upon every nobler spirit. Such perfection is conceded by Mr. Spencer to be an end of evolution.¹ This perfection of human nature means not solely moral nobility, but, as implying the realization of all the possibilities of humanity, it is broad enough to have a legitimate place for science and art, and all those large and impersonal interests, without which life is necessarily narrow, and therefore dull and joyless.

In the moral order it is further involved that, of that ideal perfection, there is an eternal realization. There is a forever realized best, in the conviction whereof men may aspire and strive after the better. A divine perfection is at once the supreme reality, and also the unfailing spring and infinite inspiration of human effort. He who revealed the Father of spirits, and showed men their possible dignity as children of God, could issue to them that sublime injunction to completeness of character, "Be ye

¹ *Data of Ethics*, sec. 62.

therefore perfect, even as your heavenly Father is perfect." His voice our spirit may know in the quiet yet imperative claims of right, and recognize its own high lineage as child of God. Thus the divinity of duty invests life with permanent relations of dignity and nobility; somewhat as the valley of Chamonix is glorified by the immediate presence of the monarch of mountains. As, from the very precincts of the plain and prosaic village, the mountain uplifts those piles of ice and snow, and that stupendous outline, as of the great white throne itself; so, amidst this wonted routine and these prosaic surroundings, might be recognized the towering grandeur of the sublime fact of duty, an ever-present and eternal fact, a felt manifestation of the divine presence, giving a dignity and glory of consecration to the ordinary course of the daily life lived in its awful shadow.

The challenge which pessimism brings against life demands the answer of faith in the God of our life, a God of right and duty. Without God is truly to be without hope in the world. Pessimism is only the dire discovery of the hopelessness of a godless world. To be alienated from that divine life must mean misery. Hence many discords of daily life, and the age-long *Miserere* with its notes of anguish, and doubt, and fear. There is, even when inarticulate, yet proceeding from the depths of human nature, a longing somehow to be redeemed from evil, made at one with the source of goodness, and so brought again into the harmony which means union of human and divine. One only has ever claimed to be able to redeem the world from this discord of evil, make man at one with God, and thus restore the harmonious blessedness of life in Him. In his gospel is thus the key to "the riddle of the painful earth." Burdened with earth's pain and woe, the thoughtful heart may easily fall into a dull despair, that sees nothing beyond

"the arbitrator of despairs,
Just death, kind umpire of men's miseries."

But, having the revelation of God, the heart may go on, putting perhaps more than dying Mortimer's meaning into that next line, —

"With sweet enlargement doth dismiss me hence."

Yes! In this moral order, as Kant demonstrated, are involved God and immortality. These transcendent truths the gospel proclaims anew in fuller revelation. A secure refuge from the misery of pessimism is afforded only by faith in a higher realm of truth and righteousness and love, an eternal order transcending

248 *Apollonius of Rhodes and the Argonautica*. [September, the limitations and shocks of time, while consecrating and blessing the course of this world. In that eternal order this temporal life has issue, as the river in the sea; and, as the river's current is affected by the mysterious tide that sets up from ocean, so this temporal life may be influenced by the eternal order whereunto it is tributary, and feel, making far up its narrow, fretted channel, the mighty tide of a full, unmeasured, and resistless joy, from the great deep of the righteousness and love of God.

Chauncey B. Brewster.

BROOKLYN, NEW YORK.

APOLLONIUS OF RHODES AND THE ARGONAUTICA.¹

In the revival of Greek poetry at Alexandria in the third century before Christ, when literary art was brought to as high an excellence as it can ever attain without the inspiration of an earlier and more unconscious genius, the learned poets of the court of the Ptolemies returned to those forms of composition in which Hellenism had embodied its first words of song, — forms which, by centuries of familiarity, had become dear, almost sacred, to the hearts of the Greeks; and in the epic and the elegy we see the perfection of Alexandrianism. The period has a profound interest, not only to the student of the human mind in its more conscious workings, but also to the critic of literary art; for much of the poetry of this epoch, artificial and uninspired as it often is, deserves attentive study; and we especially of the present day, with whom laborious investigation of subtle points and carefully wrought niceties of expression too often take the place of originality, breadth, and force, may learn something from a period marked by similar characteristics. The learning, appreciation, and spirit of a Frenchman, Auguste Couat, have lighted up the subject, and under his guidance the study of the principal poets of Alexandrianism is no uninteresting occupation. Five centuries after Christ the poet Nonnus uttered the "swan-song of Greek literature;"

¹ *The Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius. Translated into English Prose from the Text of R. Merkel, by Edward P. Coleridge, B. A. London: George Bell and Sons. 1889.

La Poésie Alexandrine sous les Trois Premiers Ptolémées, par Auguste Couat. Paris, 1882.

the tendencies which led to the decline and extinction of that wonderful development of the Greek artistic spirit are visible in the Alexandrian poets, and Nonnus was but the last link in a chain which began with Homer.

The story of the Argonauts, as told by Apollonius, has only recently become accessible to modern English readers. Mr. William Morris has, indeed, made use of the legend in his "Life and Death of Jason;" but he has treated it with considerable freedom, and mingled the classic and romantic elements, the Homeric and the Spencerian style, in his own happy manner.¹ Mr. Coleridge's translation of the "Argonautica," which has lately appeared, though occasionally inexact, gives, on the whole, a good rendering in not unpleasing English; and in this form the poem may well claim the attention of the general reader.

Born about 235 B. C., probably in Alexandria itself, at that time the centre of literature and art, — the "eye of Greece," or of all that remained of the Grecian spirit, — Apollonius was surrounded from the first by those influences which cultivate taste and stimulate the mental faculties. He seems early to have devoted himself to the pursuit of literature; he became a disciple of Callimachus, the poet laureate of his day; and we may infer that he belonged to a family of high standing and wealth. With Callimachus, the dictatorial representative of the fashionable school of poetry, he must have received an orthodox training in the arts of composition, invention, and borrowing; he must have found delight and inspiration in the wondrous heritage of the classical genius, — a heritage which has descended to us sadly diminished, — and been taught to regard with reverence, if not always with just criticism, the poets of the earlier time. For Callimachus and his partisans, in the spirit of a popular school of modern fiction, maintained that the function of the poet was not to compose great epics which should rival Homer, but pieces less ambitious in design, more perfect in finish and in studied elegance.

The characteristic of Alexandrianism was its learning. The magnificent library founded by the Ptolemies gave its readers such opportunities for study as ancient scholars nowhere else enjoyed; and the list of librarians from 282 to 173 B. C. is a succession of great names that needs no comment: Zenodotus, Theocritus, Aratus, Callimachus, Eratosthenes, Apollonius, Aristophanes, Aristarchus. Endowed with far more of genius than any of the other epic poets of his time, and perhaps more deserving

¹ See the chapter on "Æsthetic Poetry," in Mr. Walter Pater's *Appreciations*.

of immortality than any later poet except Theocritus, Apollonius shared the spirit of his age and school, which borrowed more than it invented, and devoted its labor to happy combination and elegant expression. In the "Progymnasmata" of Theon we have the characteristic expression, 'Ανάγνωσις τροφή λέξεως, — "Reading is the nourishment of style;" and while it is not certain that this saying is rightly assigned to the author of the "Argonautica," the words may well have been his motto. The dry and tedious scholia on his poem have at least this interest, that they give us some knowledge of the poet's vast field of reading; and in noting suggestions, similarities, or borrowings, Lucillus, Theon, Sophocles, and Irenæus, the Dryasdusts of the reign of Tiberius, have cited a long list of two hundred and seventeen authors. The wonder is, not that he fell short of the highest degree of originality, but that his genius was not altogether crushed by the weight of his acquirements, and that he could win for himself, as he has done, the distinction of having first treated that romantic love which is the dominating passion of modern literature. Apollonius stands with Virgil upon a middle ground between the ancient poetry, sublime in the ideas of fate, nemesis, and the powerlessness of man, and the modern poetry, grand in its conceptions of passion and of the strength of human personality. "These laborious imitators of antique art," says Couat, "were the creators of a new art; these preservers of the past were the initiators of future progress."

Yet the Alexandrians, in their efforts to combine erudition and high literary finish with a close imitation of the works of antiquity, were by no means agreed as to the aims and methods of artistic composition. Innovation and conservatism were, as ever, at variance; and the Greek Anthology contains many traces of the curious and bitter struggle. The one party would seek its models in Homer, or, still better, in Hesiod and Antimachus, the types of learned mythology; the other condemned the audacity of such ambitious attempts, and pointed with pride to certain short pieces of the newer style, replete with all that delicate finish and grace which, it is intimated, Homer lacks. Μέγα βιβλίον, said Callimachus, in words which became proverbial, μέγα κακόν, — "A big book is a great plague." The natural retort followed: finical minuteness, laborious attention to words rather than to ideas, obscurity, were charged upon those who cultivated this style. Antiphanes vented his feelings in this epigram: —

"Bustling tribes of grammarians, grubbers of other men's muses,
 E'er digging deep 'mong the roots, wretched thorn-treading moths,
 You who are spots defiling the great, who delight in Erinna,
 Bitter and dried-up curs, snarling Callimachus-like,
 You who disgrace the name poet, and dim posterity's lustrc,—
 Plague take you all, you sly ticks, backbiting masters of song."¹

Against the position taken by his master Callimachus, Apollonius the pupil brought to bear all the force of his youthful ardor and genius. His ambition was to show by example rather than by argument that it was still possible to compose an extended and successful epic in the Homeric style. At the age of sixteen or seventeen, when he could hardly have completed the first draft of his poem, he read a portion of it publicly in Alexandria. The boyish production was greeted with censure and ridicule. Humiliated at his own disgrace and the triumph of his opponent, he withdrew from Alexandria, and sought a hiding-place for his mortification in Rhodes.

A bitter war of satire and epigram ensued. Callimachus expressed his hatred of the style of poem which Apollonius had attempted in these words:—

"Cyclical poems I hate, nor can I take any pleasure
 In that road which all men hither and thither conveys;
 Strolling loves I detest, nor from any popular fountain
 Drink I at all; I loathe all that belongs to the herd.
 Fair, very fair, is Lysanias; but ere this sentence is uttered,
 Cometh the echo back: 'Some one else has the prize.'"²

Apollonius, in turn, gave utterance to a still more pointed attack:—

"Offscouring of a Callimachus, puppet, stupid old blockhead;
 He is the cause of it all,—he who the Causes composed."³

¹ Γραμματικῶν περίεργα γένη, ριζώρυχα μούσης
 ἄλλοτρίης, ἀτυχεῖς σήτες ἀκανθοβάται,
 τῶν μεγάλων κηλίδες, ἐπ' Ἡρίνῃ δὲ κομῶντες,
 μικροὶ καὶ ξηροὶ Καλλιμάχου πρόκυνες,
 ποιητῶν λῶβαι, παισὶ σκύτος ἀρχομένοισιν,
 ἔρροιτ', εὐφώνων λαθροδόκναι κόριες. — *Anth. Pal.*, xi. 322.

² Εὐχαίρω τὸ ποίημα τὸ κύκλικον, οὐδὲ κελεύθφ
 χαίρω, ὅτις πολλοὺς ᾤδε καὶ ᾤδε φέρει·
 μίσω καὶ περίφοιτον ἐρώμενον, οὐδ' ἀπὸ κρήνης
 πίνω· σικχαίνω πάντα τὰ δημόσια.
 [Αὐσανίη, σὺ δὲ ναίχι καλὸς καλός· ἄλλὰ πρὶν εἰπεῖν
 τοῦτο σαφῶς, ἡχώ φησί τις "ἄλλος ἔχει."] — *Anth. Pal.*, xii. 43.

The interpretation of the last two lines, if they belong here, has caused much difficulty to commentators.

³ Καλλιμάχος τὸ κάθαρμα, τὸ παῖγνιον, ὃ ξύλινος νοῦς·
 αἴτιον δ' ἡρώφας Αἴτια Καλλιμάχος. — *Anth. Pal.*, xi. 275.

To disprove the intimation of his own lack of power, Callimachus wrote the epic "*Hecale*," — a poem which was received with enthusiastic applause, and established incontrovertibly his supremacy. Yet his defeated rival must be still further humbled; and against him was directed the long and bitter satire called "*Ibis*," the form and meaning of which we can guess only from Ovid's poem of the same name. Finally, we have an indirect criticism of Apollonius's school of poetry in a passage which he seems to have added in a revision of the "*Hymn to Apollo*:" —

"Envy maliciously whispered aside in the ear of Apollo:
 'I do not fancy that bard who sings not as much as the sea-waves'
 Envy Apollo spurned with his foot, and thus he addressed her:
 'Vast is the swelling tide of Assyria's river, but also
 Much is the mud and the refuse it carries down on its waters.
 Not from every source comes the bees' liquid load to Demeter,
 Only that little stream which distils, in pureness unsullied,
 Drop by drop from a sacred fount, its flower consummate.'
 Hail to thee, lord! and may Scorn retreat into Envy's seclusion." ¹

So much we know of one of the most curious of literary feuds, as it has been reconstructed from the fragments of bitter personality and recrimination that survive. Callimachus, already an old man, did not long outlive the quarrel. Apollonius, in later years, returned to Alexandria, to enjoy his fairly-won reputation, and to succeed to his master's position; and on his death, says his biographer, the two enemies were laid side by side in the same tomb.

The tale of Jason and the Golden Fleece was an old and familiar one in Greek mythology. Homer in the *Odyssey*, Hesiod in the *Theogony*, Minnermus in Nanno, speak of it; Pindar's magnificent fourth Pythian is devoted to it; Æschylus had made use of it in four tragedies, Sophocles in five, Euripides in three; and a score of other poets and prose-writers, whose works we know only by report, had told the story at greater or less length. Apollonius chose a bold flight, but he chose wisely,

¹ 'Ο Φθόνος Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπ' οὐατα λάθριος εἶπεν·

"Οὐκ ἄγμαι τὸν αἰοῖδον ὅς οὐδ' ὅσα πόντος αἰεῖται,"
 τὸν Φθόνον ἀπόλλων ποδί τ' ἤλασεν ὧδέ τ' εἶπεν·

"Ἀσσυρίῳ ποταμοῖο μέγας ῥόος, ἀλλὰ τὰ πολλὰ
 λύματα γῆς καὶ πολλὴν ἐφ' ὕδατι συρφετὸν ἔλκει.
 Διοῖ δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ πάντων ὕδωρ φορέουσι μέλισσαι,
 ἀλλ' ἥτις καθαρὴ τε καὶ ἀχρᾶντος ἀνέρπει
 πίδακος ἐξ ἱερῆς ὀλέγῃ λιβάς, ἔκρον ὕδατος."

χαῖρε ἄναξ· ὁ δὲ Μῶμος, ἴσ' ὁ Φθόνος, ἐνθα νέοιτο.— *Call.*, II. 105–113.

and the task called forth his full strength. Says Couat: "He sought to compose a poem which should be at once an heroic epic, a romance, and a treatise on mythical geography, — where he might be antique like Homer and modern like Callimachus; where the story, the composition, the language, should recall the past even while it bore the mark of the present; he attempted, in short, the impossible feat of combining all these unlike things in the artificial unity of a continuous narrative." His first bitter disappointment caused his retirement into Rhodes, from which he received his surname; but years of patient labor in polishing and perfecting at last produced a result that commanded the applause of the literary world.

In an age when the epics which have always been regarded as the models of composition are declared to be patchworks and accretions of ill-assorted lays, without adequate *motif* or unity, criticism may perhaps judge leniently of Apollonius's development of his subject; but the story, as he has treated it, has "neither the grandeur of an epic, nor the unity of a drama, nor the sustained interest of a romance." "The unity of the poem consists in the arrangement and concatenation of facts, in the calculated proportion of parts." The first two books are taken up with an account of the sailing of the expedition and the long voyage. The various scenes along the course naturally give occasion for many digressions; but they are introduced so judiciously, and distributed so evenly, that one might leave Apollonius with the false impression that he has not allowed himself to wander so much as Homer. The third book is taken up with the love of Jason and Medea, and the means by which Jason won success in the trials imposed upon him, and carried off the Golden Fleece. Here the poet is at his best; and this book, with the first part of the fourth, is so much superior to the rest of the poem that the whole suffers by the contrast. "The representation of this passion," says Couat, "is only an episode, which, without unity itself, may, as Sainte-Beuve has justly said, be the dominating portion of the epic, but cannot give it unity." The fourth book relates the escape of the Argonauts from Colchis, and their return to Greece; and while Homer seems simple and truthful in his wildest statements concerning mythical geography, we feel a little indignation at being asked by an Alexandrian of the third century, who prides himself upon his knowledge of unfamiliar lands, to believe that the Argonauts sailed up the Danube into the Adriatic Sea, up the Po into the Rhone, and returned to Greece by

way of Central Africa. Before we have proceeded very far on this marvelous voyage the narrative flags; the fleece won, Jason and Medea united, we do not care for a repetition of geographical details and hairbreadth but somewhat tedious escapes, — which the poet himself seems to have had an undignified desire to cut short. We feel that the poem ought to end when the main object of the expedition has been attained, as the *Odyssey* ends when its hero has returned and recovered his throne. Pindar, with better taste, and perhaps with greater liberty, has avoided the mistake into which Apollonius fell, and has given a superior unity to the tale.

It is sometimes said that Virgil was the first to depict love in that higher, intense personal manifestation in which we moderns represent it. From the early, passionate, sensual expression of desire in Sappho and the erotic songs of the Greeks to the elevated, almost deified conception which inspires modern poetry is a long distance; but Apollonius had traversed much more than half the wide interval. Dido has stolen the glory of Medea; the Colchian maiden was the first to love as maidens love nowadays, at least in fiction; and hers was the first romance. This was not, to be sure, an individual development of Apollonius. "From the Alexandrians principally," — again we quote Couat, — "and I do not forget either the Ionian elegy or the Æolian lyrics, — dates personal poetry, borrowed from the things of daily life, the echo of the sentiments, the sufferings, the joys, and the dreams of every one. This personal, and we should not hesitate to call it romantic, poetry is found above all in the elegy, in the epigram, where it is concentrated in short psychological analyses, full of delicacy, force, and brilliancy; it penetrates even into the epic, transforming its antique character, and introducing new sentiments. Love indeed became and remained, with the Alexandrians, the principal object of the literature of the imagination. With them it reigned in the more serious poetry as well as in the lighter." Sainte-Beuve¹ has translated and paraphrased at length the third book of the "*Argonautica*," where this subject has raised the poet so far above the level which he maintains in the mere epic history of wars and adventures. There is a truth, a purity, a modernness about the description of Medea's night of anxious doubt, or of her confusion at the first meeting with Jason, which Sappho, with all her intensity and force, could never have attained. Compare, for instance, with our second fragment of Sappho, these lines of

¹ "De la Médée d'Apollonius" (*Portraits Contemporains*, tome V^e.)

Apollonius, especially as they are read in the Greek and in their connection:—

"Then sank her frightened heart, and withal were her quivering eyelids
Darkly beclouded with mist; o'er her cheeks the hot crimson mounted;
Backward or forward to move the limbs that obeyed not her bidding
Strength had she none, but her feet were rooted beneath her. And mean-
while

All her attendants apart had withdrawn, and tarried far from them.
Silent and voiceless were they, as they stood there, facing each other,
Even as stand two oaks, or pines, mayhap, lofty and noble,
Which close together are fixed in the mountain's fastness in quiet,
When it is calm; but again, if the blast of the north wind be stirring,
Waked into motion, they roar unceasingly; thus, then, the lovers
Soon were to speak in abundance, impelled by the breezes of Eros."¹

While no mere summary of the narrative can bring out all the keen touches of psychological analysis in which it abounds, it may be interesting to follow the course of this early love-story. Hera and Athena, in a morning call upon Aphrodite, whom they find combing her long hair, agree with the Goddess of Love upon a plan for the success of the Argonauts in their difficult and perilous undertaking. Eros (who is discovered playing jackstones with Ganymede "for keeps") is enlisted in their cause; and as the heroes, after their long voyage, enter the palace of Æetes, the malicious little god, hiding behind Jason himself, sends an arrow with unerring aim into Medea's heart. So far the inherited machinery of divine intervention has been maintained; henceforth all becomes human: love is the motive, Medea the agent, of the entire action.

"O cruel Love, man's chiefest bane and curse!" cries Apollonius, at a later stage of the passion, in that tone of conscious, half-weary sadness which came to the Greeks only after centuries of accumulated experience, — a tone far different from anything in the older epic, different from the "Ερως ἀνίκατε μάχαν of the Antigone, — "from thee proceed deadly feuds and mourning and

¹ ἐκ δ' ἄρα οἱ κραδίη στήθεων πέσεν, ὕμματα δ' αὖτως
ἤχλυσαν· θερμὸν δὲ παρηΐδας εἶλεν ἔρευνθος.
γούνατα δ' οὖτ' ἰπίσω, οὐτε προπάρκοιεν αἰεῖραι
ἔσθνεον, ἀλλ' ὑπέρερθε πάγῃ πόδας· αἱ δ' ἄρα τείως
ἀμφίπολοι μάλα πᾶσαι ἀπὸ σφείων ἐλίσσθεν,
τῷ δ' ἀνεψ καὶ ἄναυδοι ἐφέστασαν ἀλλήλοισιν,
ἢ δρυσὶν ἢ μακρῆσιν ἐειδόμενοι ἐλάτρησιν,
αἱ τε παρᾶσσον ἔκηλοι ἐν οὐρεσιν ἐρρίζωνται,
νημερίη· μετὰ δ' αὖτις ὑπὸ ριπῆς ἀνέμοιο
κινούμεναι ὁμᾶδῃσαν ἀπείριτον· ὥς ἄρα τῷ γε
μέλλον ἄλις φθέγξασθαι ὑπὸ πνοίῃσιν Ἐρωτος. — III. 961-971.

lamentation ; yea, and countless sorrows beside all these are by thee stirred up. Up, and arm thee against the foemen's sons, thou deity, as in the day thou didst inspire Medea with her fell murderous thoughts."¹ From the very beginning the awful tragedy in which the alliance of Jason and Medea will end is vaguely present to our minds, and deepens the shadows of a piece which in itself contains all the elements of intensity and power.

But the passion is as yet in its inception. In solitude and reflection love is wont to fan and feed its own flame ; and during a night of restless anxiety the longing grew upon Medea to rescue the strangers from the peril in which they were placed by her father's demands. And yet what were they to her ? Besides, the sons of her sister Chalciope were involved in the danger ; let the appeal for aid come from her. Then, with the delicious logic of love, having decided that the advances should come from her sister, she herself started to seek Chalciope's room, and only the reflux tide of modesty drove her back to await the expected appeal. When the entreaty came, she required no great persuasion, but set about devising means to thwart the deadly purposes of her father.

"Then did night spread darkness o'er the earth," says Apollonius, in a most beautiful description, "and they who were at sea, the mariners, looked forth from their ships toward the Bear and the stars of Orion ; and now did every wayfarer and gate-keeper long for sleep ; and o'er every mother, weeping for children dead, fell the pall of deep slumber ; no more did dogs howl through the town ; no more was heard the noise of men, but silence wrapped the darkling gloom. Yet not at all did sleep shed its sweetness o'er Medea." Long she tossed and pondered, torn by the conflict of love with maiden modesty and filial duty. Only one way of release appeared to her : she rose, took her casket of baleful drugs upon her lap, to choose one which should bring final rest to her troubled soul, when suddenly "an awful horror of loathly Hades" filled her mind. The struggle was over ; Medea was conquered ; henceforth she waited only for the opportunity of devoting herself and her magical powers to the service of Jason.

Another scene among the many beautiful ones that follow particularly deserves our attention. An interview had been arranged in which Medea was to give Jason the magic herb that should work his deliverance, and to direct his course of action in the perilous trial. The two lovers — if Jason's weakly submission to

¹ This translation and the next are Mr. Coleridge's.

the connection forced upon him entitles him to that name — met each other alone for the first time. The passage in which their embarrassment is described has been cited above. The hero of that adventure which was surpassed in glory only by the siege of Troy, and the wondrous woman of charms, the mighty mistress of men and animals and of the wayward elements, stood abashed and speechless in presence of each other. Jason first recovered his composure; his nature knew little of the depths to which Medea's ardent soul was stirred. His own safety was his first thought: with a touch of the unconscious irony of tragedy which every reader must feel, he spoke of Ariadne, who had loved and delivered Theseus only to be abandoned by him. Medea, who "would have drawn her whole soul forth from her breast and given it him at his desire eagerly," directed his means of success and deliverance. Then, when shame had left her, she sought an assurance that he would not forget her in his far-distant land, and prayed that, if he should forget, some messenger-bird might whisper the news in her ear, and she be borne on the blasts of the wind to haunt and reproach him. At last the strong but sluggish spirit of Jason takes fire: he will never forget her; he will take her as a bride to his home in Greece, where she shall be honored among women. Thus they remained in the rapture of a new-found love, until the setting sun reminded Jason's prudent spirit that it was time for Medea to return to her father's palace.

Even in this imperfect sketch it must be apparent how exactly the two lovers typify ancient and modern art. Two streams of influence, opposite in their character, have flowed together and formed a union as perfect, let us say, as the marriage of hero and heroine, — each retaining its own individuality and tendency, but both combining into a fairly rounded and finished whole. In Jason survives the old machinery of divine intervention and guidance; he is the creature of destiny and circumstance; when he is left to himself, his counsels lack force, decision, originality. Medea is the representative of human personality and will, — not that which blindly raises its hand against the decrees of all-powerful fate and divinity, only to draw down the shattering stroke of Nemesis, but that which, in the sphere of human action, reverently yet fearlessly works out its ends, and rises superior to obstacle and trial. She is still the sensitive, dutiful, wavering maiden, with just enough of independence and self-reliance to impart character and charm; she has not as yet become the typical woman of drugs and incantations, the worthy niece of Circe the

witch; and the terrible tragedy which Euripides has so pathetically wrought out casts only a vague foreboding shadow over the scene. Jason is a conventional figure; he resembles too much that bore of every schoolboy, the "pious Æneas;" he does not even rise to all the possibilities of conventional treatment. Medea is a character whom the poet has created and loved; whom he has portrayed with wonderful care and success; and whom the sympathetic reader must love and admire and linger with as did the poet. Jason is human in his weakness and vacillation; Medea is infinitely more human both in her weakness and in her strength.¹

Yet justice to the poet compels us to speak one word in defense of Jason and of those portions of the poem which seem to us inferior to the episode of Medea. Apollonius had undertaken to write an epic in the Homeric style; and an epic without the constant presence and interference of gods could as little have been conceived as an "Orlando Furioso" or a "Faerie Queen" without magic. Apollonius has departed sufficiently from the conventional canons of epic art; a total departure would have offended the taste of the poet and of his age, and been fatal to the success of his creation. The gods are no longer the old Homeric divinities; but they must be brought in, and allowed to take a hand in the course of events. Apollonius has not made an unskillful use of the conventional material and obligations which were presented to him; and if we do not find in all parts of the poem the same originality and power, there is everywhere grace, delicacy, and finish.

The question how far the literary artist can consciously separate himself from his own environment, and reproduce the scenery, sentiments, and language of another age, is always an interesting one in criticism. Writers of every class and of every degree of genius have attempted it with varying success, — never, it may be said, with complete truthfulness. One who is disposed to study the question in detail finds in Apollonius a singularly favorable field. To the modern scholar no particular phase of the Greek language is the familiar idiom drawn in with his mother's milk, and equally unnatural for him to analyze; the

¹ So it is elsewhere. "Chariclea is the only interesting person in the work," says Dunlop, speaking of Heliodorus. "She is represented as endued with great strength of mind, united to a delicacy of feeling, and an address which turns every situation to the best advantage. Indeed, in all the ancient romances the heroine is invariably the most engaging and spirited character." — *History of Fiction*, c. 1.

tricks of speech, which in the case of our native tongue are so ingrained that they escape us even in a use which is highly anachronistic, are to him matters of conscious acquirement and scientific classification; he has noticed when words and idioms first appear in the language, and can often judge better than Apollonius what is Homeric and what is not. In this way alone can the style of our poet be rightly judged. The test of an artistic imitation is its correspondence to the model; and while the poet shows throughout real originality and genius, the strict prescription of departments in Greek literature and his evident attempt to follow in the well-marked lines of the older epic invite such a comparison as the criterion of his success. The result of the examination would be highly favorable to Apollonius. He has attained a degree of success which we may well regard as remarkable in a conscious, artificial imitation of a dialect and mode of thought removed by many centuries of change and decay. We find words, indeed, which appear in the language only at a late date; we notice syntax which Homer could not by any possibility have used; in metre we find ourselves far advanced in a line of change which runs unerringly through almost every epic poet from the earliest to the latest. Yet, with these results of the influences of his own time, which the most skillful hand could never entirely remove, Apollonius has reanimated and reproduced the Homeric age in its true spirit and color. It is said that much of the effect of Thackeray's "Henry Esmond," with all the faithful scholarship and exquisite taste that it reveals, is due to the slight quaintness of the contraction "T is." Apollonius owes his success to no single trick of speech, nor to any mechanical use of the formulæ of lines and half-lines which are so common in Homer, but to an attentive, faithful, sympathetic reconstruction of the heroic world.

Nowhere do the imagination and artistic skill of an epic poet find more room for display than in the simile. "It may perhaps not seem difficult," says Bergk in his "History of Greek Literature," "to find an appropriate simile; yet none of the later poets has in this respect even approximated Homer's art. Either they are content with copying Homer, or, when they rely upon their own resources, we see their poverty of invention, their unnaturalness and artificiality. Nor does this apply only to the later Greek epic poets, but to the Roman as well. . . . There is in all Virgil hardly a simile which is not borrowed: Homer first, Apollonius next, are his sources."

The number of similes in the "Argonautica," including both those worked out in detail and comparisons merely indicated, is one hundred and twenty-nine. They occur, on the average, somewhat more frequently than in the *Iliad*, and more than twice as often as in the *Odyssey*, and are much more evenly distributed than Homer's. They are drawn in general from the same wide field as Homer's, — from animate and inanimate nature, from the business and labors of common life, from mythology, — rarely from a subjective sphere. Illustrations from animal life are frequent and varied. Among wild animals, besides the indefinite *θήρ*, we have, in the extended similes, the lion, bull, boar, deer, serpent, hawk, dove, swan, fly, gad-fly, ant, and bee; among domestic animals, the horse, ox, sheep, and dog.

In the realm of inanimate nature and natural phenomena, where Apollonius is often at his best, the stars are his favorite comparison. They appear five times, thrice referring to Jason. Once the ordinary "star" is not sufficient; Sirius, the brightest of stars, can alone adequately represent the hero's glory. The armed men springing from the dragon's teeth seem like the constellations shining forth after a great snowstorm. Hercules appears to the keen-eyed Lynceus in the dim distance like the new moon, which one just sees, or thinks he sees; and again, at its full, we feel the joy which its beams inspire in the maiden's heart. The rays of the sun, now first rising, now evaporating the dew, now reddening a cloud, now dancing in reflection from a vessel of water; the wind, and its roaring; the lightning; fire, and the eddies of smoke rising from a burning forest; a hailstorm; flowing streams, — all are pictured in extended similes. The sea is a less fruitful source than we might expect. The shouts of the Colchians resemble its roaring; we see the dashing waves, and the rock standing firm in the midst. Of motionless objects we have only trees — oaks, olives, firs — and their leaves. Finally, the tears of the mourning Heliades roll like olive-oil upon water.

The sphere of human activity, as in Homer, furnishes fewer comparisons than the world of nature; from this source, however, are drawn sixteen of the seventy-seven extended similes. The girl weeping at her step-mother's ill-treatment and clinging to her nurse, the widowed bride mourning her dead husband, the captive maiden slipping sadly out of the rich house of bondage, the poor widow earning by her nightly toil a scanty subsistence for her orphaned children, and pale-faced men rushing up and down

through the city in terror at some peril or portent, illustrate the darker phases of life; the festive choral dance, the eager remembrance of home by a long-absent traveler, and maidens playing ball on the beach, the brighter side. It is to be noted that the greater part of these are taken from the life of women. Peaceful industry is represented by the wood-cutter, the tiler, the farmer reaping, the nurseryman, or grower of trees, the horse-jockey, the puffing of the smith's bellows; and once we hear the echoes of war in the clash of meeting phalanxes. Apsyrtus, in his interview with Medea, tries her as cautiously as a boy tries a swollen torrent through which not even strong men may pass.

Comparisons with gods are not frequent. Jason is likened to Apollo, Medea to Artemis, Æetes to Poseidon. Similar is the comparison of Amycus to the monster-children of Typhoeus or Gaea.

The minor comparisons for the most part cover the same range as the extended similes. Here, however, we find subjective illustration, in dreams, five times introduced. New animals are the seals, the *αἰθναί* (water-birds), and the *φορβάς* (grazing animal, cow or horse). Jason steals away like a thief; a blow rebounds as does the hammer from the anvil; the cattle of Helios are as white as milk; the ichor flowing from the ankle of Talos is like melted lead.

A few examples, chosen from the finer similes, may best illustrate Apollonius's power of invention and skill in elaboration. To see how he has copied and expanded a Homeric figure, let us compare a passage from the *Iliad* with one from the *Argonautica*:—

"And as when speeds the thought of a man, who, having far traveled
Over the earth, now thinks, in his mind's sagacious recesses,
'Would I were here, or there;' and many a place does he long for,—
Rapidly thus through the ether speeding her flight, lady Hera
Came unto lofty Olympus." ¹

"And as a man that roams afar from his country, as often
Wander we mortals who suffer and dare, sees lying before him
Land not far away, and every path he perceiveth;
Then of his home he thinks, and all the journey together
Over the land and the sea appears to his mind, and now this way
Bending his glance, now that, he eagerly ponders and searches, —

¹ ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἂν ἀίξῃ νόος ἀνέρος, ὅς τ' ἐπὶ πολλὴν
γαῖαν ἐληλουθὼς φρεσὶ πενκαλίμῃσι νόσῃ·
"ἐνθ' εἶην, ἢ ἐνθα;" μνησιν ἔσσι τε πολλά·
ὥς κραιπνῶς μεμαυῖα δῖε πτατο πότνια Ἥρη,
ἵκετο δ' αἰὲν Ὀλύμπῳ. — *Il.*, XV. 80-84.

So then Athena, the daughter of Zeus, darting rapidly downward,
Set her feet on the shore of the cheerless Thynian island."¹

"The poet's similes," says Mr. Mahaffy, "are rather introduced for their prettiness than for their aptness." Homer's favorite comparison with the lion, which appears no fewer than thirty times in the *Iliad*, gives place in Apollonius to the daintier figure of the star, which is used more frequently than any other. One of these is a good specimen of the poet's light and graceful treatment:—

"Up toward the city he went, resembling a star in his glory,
Such a star as young brides, in their new-made cottages cloistered,
See and admire as it rises in radiance over the housetops,
And through the dark-blue air it charms their eyes and delights them,
Reddening fair on the sight; and the maiden is gladdened, beholding,
Longing to see her lover, who lingers in countries far-distant,
Him to whom she is betrothed, and her parents are keeping her for him:
Like such a star went the hero along the path to the city."²

Here is seen the Homeric detail, which does not add to the likeness between the things compared, but serves to bring out more vividly the picture presented in the simile.

A neat and original conception appears in the following:—

"Fast beat her troubled heart, and fluttered wildly within her:
Even as to and fro in the house there dances a sunbeam,
Rising up from the water which one has just poured in a caldron,
Or in a pail, perchance; and the sunbeam hither and thither
Darts and whirls and vibrates aloft, in rapid pulsation,—
So in her heaving breast fast fluttered the heart of the maiden."³

¹ ὥς δ' ὅτε τις πάτρηθεν ἀλώμενος, οἷά τε πολλὰ
πλαζόμεθ' ἄνθρωποι τετληότες, οὐδέ τις αἶα
τηλυρὸς, πᾶσαι δὲ κατόφιοι εἰσι κέλευθοι,
σφωιτέρους δ' ἐνόησε δόμους, ἄμυδις δὲ κέλευθος
ὄγρη τε τραφερή τ' ἰνδάλλεται, ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλη
ἄξια πορφύρων ἐπιμαίεται ὀφθαλμοῖσιν·
ὥς ἔρα καρπαλμῶς κούρη Διὸς ἀΐξασα
θῆκεν ἐπ' ἀξείνοιο πόδας Θυνηλδος ἀκτῆς. — *Argon.*, II. 543-550.

² βῆ δ' ἵμεναι προτὶ ἄστρῳ φαεινῷ ἄστέρϊ Ἴσος,
ὃν ῥά τε νηγατέρῃν ἐργόμεναι καλύβησιν
νύμφαι θηήσαντο δόμων ὑπερ' ἀντέλλοντα,
καὶ σφισι κνανόιο δι' ἥρος ὄμματα θέλγει
καλὸν ἐρευνθόμενος, γάνυται δέ τε ἡιδέοιο
παρθένος ἱμερῶσα μετ' ἀλλοδαποῖσιν ἐόντος
ἀνδρᾶσιν, ᾧ καὶ μιν μνηστῆρ' ἐκόμενοι τοκῆες·
τῷ ἱκελος πρὸ πόλῃος ἀνὰ στίβον ἦεν ἥρως. — I. 774-781.

³ πυκνὰ δὲ οἱ κραδίη στηθέων ἐντοσθεν ἔθουεν,
ἡέλου ὥς τις τε δόμοιο ἐνιπάλλεται αἴγλη
ἔδατος ἐξανιούσα, τὸ δὲ νέον ἢ λέβητι,
ἥ ποῦ ἐν γαυλῷ κέχυται· ἢ δ' ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα
ὠκείη στροφάλιγγι τινάσσεται ἀίσσουσα·
ὥς δὲ καὶ ἐν στηθεσσι κέαρ ἐλελλίζετο κούρης. — III. 754-759.

In a different style, vigorous and rapid, is one illustrating the passion of Hercules on hearing of the loss of Hylas:—

“As when a bull rushes on, by the gad-fly tortured and maddened,
Leaving the meadows and marshes, his pasture-lands, nor of the herdsmen
Nor of the herd does he reckon, but pushes his way and now stops not,
Now again stands still, and, lifting his neck in its hugeness
Utters a mighty roar at the sting of that terrible insect,—
So, in his longing intense, his swift limbs now he exerted
Ceaselessly, now again, from his labor suddenly pausing,
Piercingly far and wide he cried with a roaring tremendous.”¹

There is no such brilliant series of similes as that which describes the sally of the Grecian host to battle in the second book of the *Iliad*. The narrative of the trial of prowess exacted from Jason by Æetes is, however, enlivened by no fewer than nineteen comparisons, greater and smaller; the two likening Jason to an impatient war-horse which smelleth the battle afar off, and to a flash of lightning darting from the clouds, have something Homeric in their vigor and their representation of succeeding phases of the same action:—

“Just as a spirited war-horse desires to enter the battle,
Prancing and neighing and pawing the ground, and high in his mettle
Tosses his head aloft, with ears erect for the tumult,—
Thus did the son of Æson exult in his limbs’ manly vigor.
Restlessly hither and thither he trod, with high, haughty footsteps,
Shaking his shield of bronze and the good ashen spear that he wielded.
You would have said that lightning, leaping out from the darkness,
All in a winter’s storm, was flashing fast from the ether,
And from the clouds, what time they bring the blackest of tempests.”²

In the following simile the vividness of the picture is increased

¹ ὥς δ' ὅτε τις τε μύωπι τετυμμένος ἴσσυτο ταῦρος
πίσεά τε προλιπὼν καὶ ἐλεσπίδας, οὐδὲ νομήων
οὐδ' ἀγέλης ὄθεται, πρήσσει δ' ὄδον, ἔλλοτ' ἄπαντος,
ἔλλοτε δ' ἰσθήμενος, καὶ ἀνὰ πλατὺν αὐχέν' αἰέρων
ἵησιν μύκημα, κακῷ βεβολημένος οἴστρω·
ὥς ὅ γε μαιώων δὲ μὲν θοὰ γούνατ' ἐπαλλεν
συνεχέως, ὅτε δ' αὖτε μεταλλήγων καμάτοιο
τῆλε διαπύρσιον μεγάλη βοάσκειν ἀντῆ. — I. 1265-1272.

² ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἄρῃος ἵππος ἐελδόμενος πολέμοιο
σκαρθμῷ ἐπιχρεμέθων κρούει πέδον, αὐτὰρ ὑπερθεν
κυδίων ὀρθοῖσιν ἐπ' οὐασιν αὐχέν' αἰερεῖ·
τοῖος ἄρ' Αἰσονίδης ἐπαγαίετο κάρτει γυνίων·
πολλὰ δ' ἄρ' ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα μετάρσιον ἵχνος ἐπαλλεν,
ἀσπίδα χαλκείην μελίην τ' ἐν χερσὶ τινάσσων.
φαῖης κεν ὀφεροῖο κατ' αἰθέρος αἰσσοῦσαν
χειμερίην στεροπὴν θαμνὸν μεταπαυδάσσεσθαι
ἐκ νεφέων, ὅτ' ἔπειτα μελάντατον ὕμβρον ἄγωνται. — III. 1258-1266.

by the introduction of a minor comparison, — a simile within a simile : —

“ And as a spotted snake goes winding his crooked pathway
When the rays of the sun beat down upon him too hotly ;
Hissing, he turns his head to this side and that, and his eyeballs
Glitter like coals of fire, his impetuous fierceness revealing,
Till he reaches his hole, and enters its cooling recesses, —
Thus went the Argo about o’er the lake, a passable outlet
Long time seeking to find.”¹

With these illustrations of Apollonius’s art we may conclude this essay upon one of the best of the Alexandrian poets. We may possibly have shown how much beauty and interest there is in a field which has been too much neglected by classical scholars, and by those readers who claim an acquaintance with the better-known works of Greek literature. The intense and absorbing beauty of the productions of the Hellenic genius at its prime blinds our eyes to the merit of later works, which, though inferior, are by no means contemptible. An earnest plea should be made for this aftermath of Greek culture. Aside from their literary worth, the products of Alexandrian study and thought must have an intensely human interest for one who has caught their spirit. The perfection of Homer, of Pindar, of Sophocles, makes us despair ; the imperfect strivings of Theocritus and Apollonius show us more of human nature, and charm us with the discovery of what man’s labor and effort, struggling against odds and unfavorable conditions, can accomplish. The gods, if we may use a figure suggested by one of the ancient admirers of this school of poetry,² may retain their seats in the heavenly Olympus ; but the giants have raised their Pelion and Ossa to no mean height above earth, — and the giants are our own kindred of an earlier day. Of Apollonius it is to be said that he was the greatest poet of his age. Even though we may not care to learn from him in the matters of language and form, though his long narrative may in places have

¹ ὡς δὲ δράκων σκολιὴν εἰλιγμένος ἔρχεται ὀλμον,
εὐδὲ μιν ὀξύτατον θάλλπει σέλας ἡελίοιο ·
ροίσφ’ ὃ’ ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα κάρη στρέφει, ἐν δέ οἱ ὅσσε
σπινθαρίγεσσι πυρὸς ἐναλγικία μαιμώντι
λάμπεται, ὕφρα μυχόνδε διὰ βωχμοῖο δύηται ·
ὥς Ἀργὼ λίμνης στόμα ναῦπορον ἐξερέουσα
ἀμφεπόλει θηναῖν ἐπὶ χρόνον. — IV. 1539–1545.

² Εἰ δ’ ὕμνων σκᾶπτρον Ὀμηρος ἔχει,
καὶ Ζεὺς τοι κρέσσων Ἐννοσίχθονος · ἀλλ’ Ἐννοσίχθων
τοῦ μὲν ἔφν μείων, ἀθανάτων δ’ ὕπατος. — *Anth. Pal.*, VII. 409.

Our version of the figure is juster.

little attraction for us, there always remains this interest, that the Alexandrian has gone far beyond his predecessors and masters in the representation of the passion of love, and that he first struck with any certain tone the chord which has dominated later literature, and which awakens the most responsive feeling in our breasts.

Charles J. Goodwin.

SOME EXPERIMENTS WORTH TRYING IN THE MINISTRY.

ONE of the greatest longings of a large class of young men in the ministry is for something new. Not necessarily new truths, nor new literary styles, nor new methods of converting men, nor new methods of preaching, but that consciousness of variety and freshness in the work of the profession that shall clothe old things with a new garment, and relieve the worker of the oppression which the thought of doing the same things that have been done in the same way so often gives him. I speak out of my own limited experience. For four years I have been trying to preach the gospel of the new creature in Christ Jesus. And the feeling that I have been threshing old straw and selling shopworn goods has very often raised the question in my own mind, "Am I then a new creature myself? Is it true that all things have become new with me? And if so, how does it happen that so many things are old and wearisome and monotonous to me? Thou a preacher of newness of life! Surely thou must have been converted, if at all, from the top downwards, and the process has not yet reached the heart, that source of all fresh springs of inspiration and all new visions of real life!"

Now it is the minister's business to win men to God the Father, and in that business the great law of service demands so much of a preacher, and rightly, that very many young ministers neglect the sources of self-development. Let me see if I can make that plainer. There is no doubt about it, — the ministry does demand an immense amount of self-denial, of continual service to all sorts and conditions of men. The drain on sympathy, and intellect, and spiritual forces, and time, and physical energy is something tremendous. The temptation to pour out all one's strength like water is a real temptation with many a man starting out in this profession of service. And it is right here that many a minister,

in his eagerness to help others, fails to help himself to a development which is not only his privilege but his duty, — a development which, in the long run, will increase his powers of service and make his profession what it ought to be, — the most stimulating and enthusiastic in the world.

Purely in self-defense, to keep the pond full, and have a definite course of action for a year, the following experiment has been tried. Nothing was said about it to the church. It was a personal scheme, followed out as faithfully as possible, and with no "remarks" to the public.

For a long time the writer was much perplexed at the desultory character of the minister's work. It seemed to be a chaos of sermon-writing, calls, hurried glances at one and another part of the field, and nothing mastered or learned in detail. In view of this, which was a real perplexity to him, he divided his whole work into the following groups, which he called

THE MINISTER'S OUTLOOK.

1. The Church Membership.
2. The Sunday-School.
3. The Week-day Service.
4. The Young People's Society.
5. The Sermon.
6. The Parish Visiting.
7. The Study.
8. The Element of Church Worship.
9. The Minister's Literary Specialty.
10. The Minister's Art Specialty.
- 11, 12. The Recreation Period.

To each one of these groups it was purposed to devote a month of special attention, preparation, and study in detail. With this purpose in view, everything that could bear upon the particular month was emphasized when that month came. There was no absolute shrinking of everything else, but the special month for Sunday-school work was made special, with that phase of the church activity kept to the front in every possible way. For example, the Sunday-school was studied with the superintendent. The names of the pupils, with their classes, committed to memory. Discussions held with teachers as to methods of class instruction. Blackboard exercises introduced into the opening service of the school. And the entire school given the morning preaching ser-

vice on Sunday in a series of short illustrated sermons on the attributes of Christ.

Again, take for example the month given to the Week-day Service. Letters were written to every member of the church asking his attendance. Lists of subjects for the meetings were carefully studied. As many men as possible given something to do; not asked to do it, but assigned it, as if it was expected they would do it as a matter of course, because they were church members. Special singing for the services was arranged; and special preparation given to each meeting, even to its minutest details of opening and closing.

These two brief illustrations will indicate something of the way in which each group was treated. Let us note the objections to such an experiment, and the advantages.

1. *Objections.*

(a.) Such a plan is liable to constant interruption, owing to the very nature of the minister's work, which of necessity is of a general and not of a specific character.

(b.) There is danger that a church will not understand the apparent loss of interest on the part of the minister in the different departments of his work as he transfers his special attention from one thing to another.

(c.) The particular period assigned for a particular study may not be seasonable for it, or the minister may not be in the mood to do that kind of work.

(d.) The plan does not leave room for spontaneity. It is too cut-and-dried. It lacks flexibility.

2. *Advantages.*

(a.) The plan, carried out as faithfully as interruptions will permit for a year, gives a minister a fair view of his entire field of work, and makes him familiar with details that otherwise he would never know.

(b.) As a means of personal development for the minister, the scheme is admirable, and almost any church could afford to let its minister try it for that reason.

(c.) The habit of concentration and continuous application upon one large subject at a time is strengthened by this experiment.

(d.) The plan discourages narrowness and specialty in the ministry, and invites a broader and more stimulating habit of study with some particular method behind it.

On the whole, after giving this experiment as good a trial as a

single man with no incumbrances could give it, I am ready to say that it is worth trying. It is only a year at the longest. A church will not suffer from it, even if it does wonder now and then what its minister is going to do next. The objections to the plan are not so serious as they appear, and the advantages are more apparent after trying it than they appear before. The special subjects can be made to fit special seasons; and there is no good reason why, at least one month in the year, a minister should not allow himself or give himself something to correspond to the Literary Specialty and the Art Specialty. I gave those months to particular work in story-writing and in rose culture, and I do not think that I preached any poorer, or was any less welcome in the houses of my sick and troubled, because I had succeeded, after infinite pains, in getting some rare blooms of the "Meteor" and "Papa Gontier," and waked the sluggish faculty of imagination once more by writing boys' dialogue again. How shall the preacher of the new life be himself an exponent and a healthy example of that life unless he drink from all sources of healthy, happy power? And if a church cannot trust a Christian minister to regulate the disposal of his time and the particular methods of his own necessary development for their better service, then one or the other needs converting over again. This we must say to avoid any misunderstanding. No experiment is worth trying in the ministry which weakens or discourages the idea of *service* which underlies the whole true thought of the ministry. It is only a question as to how that service shall be best enlarged and developed. Surely the workman must have time to sharpen his tools, and money to buy new ones, or his work will not please the Master. There is no wisdom in using extra strength to swing a dull axe. Better stop and sharpen it.

One of the most useful and happy experiments I have ever tried in the ministry has been a very simple method of getting my church and congregation to help me write my sermons. For instance, I have a series of sermons on "Christ the Reformer." I print synopses of these sermons, as follows:—

CHRIST THE REFORMER.

Series of Sunday Evening Sermons, beginning February 1, 1891.

SYNOPSIS OF SERMONS.

- Feb. 1. An age of "Reform." Social unrest. Labor agitation. Changing parties. Shifting legislation. Press and pulpit in the struggle. The danger line. What has Christ to do with the question of "Reform"? Christ's attitude defined.

- Feb. 8. Christ and the individual. Christ and the State. Christ and the Church. An ideal government. What is possible? The first step.
- Feb. 15. Some of the "Reforms" demanded by the present age. Discussion of same. What can be done by Law? What by the Press? What by the Church? What by the Individual? What are Results and what are Causes in social inequality?
- Feb. 22. Man's *REAL* needs. The "Rights" of mankind defined. Teaching of Christ. The duty of young men. The present outlook. The imperative thing to do. Christ as a necessary factor in the permanent solution of any question of "Reform." Relation of the spiritual man to organized society.

For the first sermon, I give to one of my church members, say a workingman, a brief slip, together with the above plan, asking him to look up the history of labor organizations, and the changes in laws affecting labor. For the second, I ask another member to look up passages in the New Testament bearing on Christ's attitude towards organized society. For the third sermon, I ask still another to look up a list of legislative enactments bearing on the "Reforms" of the day. And for the fourth sermon, I ask another person to give me the legal definitions of man's rights. Credit is given in every case for work done. I mean in public. Very much of the work handed in I do not use at all in the sermon as delivered. A good deal in the way of figures and statistics is valuable, and the time saved in getting it from others is incalculable. If it be thought that this is a cool way of getting facts, or work done, the answer is conclusive that in every case the work is eagerly and cheerfully done by the church; the individuals who do the special work are themselves the gainers by it, and the facts and figures secured are generally much more reliable than those gleaned from newspapers and hearsay, and the interest excited in the preaching of the sermons is in proportion to the number of persons engaged in their preparation. I have at present a good part of my Young People's Society at work on a series of evening sermons on Christ the Saviour. The work consists in looking up all the passages in the New Testament in which Christ is spoken of as a Saviour. I have given out the twenty-seven books of the New Testament to as many young people, asking each person to give me, within a certain time, all the passages from his assigned book that bear on the subject. And, to give them an intelligent search for the words, I have given each one of them a brief plan of the sermons, which will extend over two months.

Nothing is so embarrassing in the ministry as the parish work where families of other parishes or strangers move into the neigh-

borhood. This is especially true in larger Western towns, where the population is shifting continually, and people are coming and going as they never do in more settled Eastern parishes. The embarrassment lies right here: There is another church about five blocks off. It is growing. It has come to stay. It has a constituency scattered over eight or ten blocks of territory. The two parishes overlap. Each minister wants to do his duty to strangers and new families in the neighborhood. And yet neither wishes to poach on the other's grounds. A delightful way of solving this difficulty is for both ministers to go together and make their calls on every family within their respective church or parish boundaries. This is an experiment which is worth trying, even where the Evangelical Alliance flourishes; and where that organization has not been formed, or where it has had a trial and has been abandoned, the advantages of this dual parish work are apparent at the first trial. A little form can be struck off on a mimeograph or a neostyle, stating the object of the canvass of the neighborhood, and asking, as a favor, replies to a few simple questions relative to church and Sunday-school attendance, requesting the return of the papers by mail. A stamped envelope, with the address of one of the ministers, will insure the return of about two thirds of the papers, and on that basis some general idea of the whole territory canvassed may be gleaned. But the greatest advantage is to the ministers who do the work together. The experiment is perhaps best worth trying, or most feasible, in a town or city where groups of churches of different denominations are separated by geographical boundaries capable of being united into one field of work if two churches were united, and one church building erected in the centre of the geographical territory. I know of no plan which would help more practically to wipe out denominational rivalry and jealousy than two ministers making their calls on a neighborhood together. This canvass could profitably be made at least once a year. An average of twenty-five or thirty calls a week can easily be made.

There is one experiment which I have tried with such continually increasing pleasure and profit that it has well-nigh passed out of the region of experiments into that of assured practice. It is an experiment begun while in the seminary, and continued in the ministry with increasing enthusiasm and faith in its value. It consists in a practical attempt to put myself in the other man's place. That is, to illustrate literally, there is a man in my congregation whom I love, and for whom I have a real esteem. A

friendship exists between us. It is true and sincere. He would share his property or his last meal with me, I have no doubt. But this man is not a Christian in the sense that Christ meant it. He will not confess Christ, nor unite himself to any church. I want to win that man. We will say he is a carpenter, or a cabinet-maker. He lives a different life from mine. He may have difficulties, troubles, discouragements peculiar to his work, which make the Christian life seem unreal or even impossible. Very well. I will learn that man's trade, or at least as much of it as it is possible for me to know. It is not necessary for me to say anything to him about it. It is better that I don't. But the very attempt to realize for myself the actual conditions of his daily existence makes it more possible for me to reach him and win him with the new spiritual life. Why not? How shall I enter into this man's philosophy of existence (and be assured he has one, and a very decided one, too) unless I enter, in part, into the atmosphere in which, perchance, his philosophy and his disbelief had their beginning? Suppose this friend of mine is a clerk in a store. I cannot very well leave my work as a minister and go into a store and clerk, in order to put myself literally into his place; but I can acquaint myself with his surroundings, in a great many ways, if I have the willingness to go into the store and learn the conditions of his life. The experiment in each case is personal, and belongs to that department of a minister's activity of which the least he says about it the better. The philosophy, however, which underlies it is, I am fairly convinced, based upon a right principle and a correct view of the powers and demands of the ministry. No other activity known to men calls for such knowledge of all sorts and conditions of men. No other calling demands so much interest in the human. It is preëminently the *man-building* business of the world. And whatever honestly and truly promotes one's efficiency in that business is not only legitimate, but highly desirable and worth trying.

I have of late been much impressed by one of George Macdonald's shrewd sayings:—

"To try too hard to make people good is one way to make them worse; the only way to make good is to be good, remembering well the beam and the mote. The time for speaking comes rarely; the time for *being* never departs."

One may present in the ministry the appearance of struggle, and unrest, and anxiety, and he may make too hard work of trying to win men, forgetting the latent and reserve power of the

truth as it always exists among the preacher's materials. There is also the danger that experiments may lead to iconoclasm of things that are and ought to be eternally the same. It is one thing to wipe the dust off a masterpiece, so that it can be seen better, and another thing to take chisel or brush in hand to make it look more modern. There is also, in the trying of experiments, the risk of being misunderstood, the danger of irritating a church into a growing sense of uneasiness concerning the next move, and on the part of the minister a dissatisfaction with old things simply because they are old.

This must be said concerning any new methods in general. Methods are largely personal. What one man makes successful another may make a failure. Yet a copy is sometimes better than an original. An experiment in the ministry or anywhere else ought to have the individual personal element in it, with this thought to steady the whole work,—experiments are means to ends. They are not the work; they are only new tools, or old tools sharpened to do the work. The best things in the ministry are the old things. With this idea a fixed quantity, I do not see any danger in trying very many experiments. The ministry has not developed itself as other professions have done. It has been too much on one line. I cannot help believing that the new creature in Christ Jesus is the whole man expanded in all possible ways, and winning other men to the same life which the Master said He came to bring to the world "more abundantly."

Charles M. Sheldon.

CENTRAL CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, TOPEKA, KANSAS.

A NEW CHAIR.

THE increasing prominence of social science is making its study an indispensable part of the curriculum of our higher institutions of learning. The modern church has taken but little interest in this department of knowledge, till she has lost a leadership she ought to-day to possess. It is, however, one of the hopeful signs of the present that all those questions which spring out of man's relations to his fellows are demanding consideration on the part especially of our theological students. The outcome of Christ's new commandment is now being recognized by those who are responsible for the training of such as are proposing to follow in

the footsteps of Christ's disciples. The late encyclical of the Pope clearly shows what he thinks the church has to do with the so-called labor question. "No practical solution of it," he states in this remarkable deliverance, "will ever be found without the assistance of religion and the church. Every minister of holy religion must throw into the conflict all the energy of his mind and all the strength of his endurance." The real significance of the encyclical consists in the fact that it asserts that the social question is preëminently one with which the church must deal. This is a great step in advance for the Church of Rome, and other churches, not to be outdone, will have to take as pronounced a position. In the colleges for the training of the Roman priesthood, practical sociology will hereafter supplant to some extent the study of speculative theology. Every Catholic priest will henceforth be expected to bring the teachings of the Holy Father, as declared in this encyclical, to bear upon the social problems in his own parish. This new field of applied ethics is one which all teachers of religion must now perforce enter. They will find that the material wants of men must be considered, for the appeal of the hour is to help mankind into a better social order. There are vast complications connected with the observance of that which Christ pronounced the second great commandment. With so much now written on social questions, with the doctrinaires and demagogues who are assuming to instruct the industrial world, it is high time that in our divinity schools such careful and systematic instruction be given as will prepare the future ministers of the churches to deal intelligently with these grave themes. As service becomes more distinctively the recognized function of those in our pulpits, more and more will be felt the need of better understanding how to help men. This is the burning question of this generation. It is applied Christianity the world is hungry for, and it is this sort of Christianity we want emphasized in the schools whence are to come the religious teachers of the times. The domain of knowledge undoubtedly widens, and it is difficult to introduce new studies into an already over-full course without an extension of its time. So post-graduate courses have been arranged to meet this embarrassment, but social science cannot safely be relegated to such extra courses.

The gospel of Christ has to do with practical things, like temperance, crime, charity, rights of wage-earners, child labor, duties to the unfortunate and dependent classes, housing of the poor, Sabbath toil, etc. It is the ethical side of the gospel, that can

no longer be safely neglected. Christ knew far better than his disciples what a world they were called to labor in, and the extraordinary equipment required for doing it. He certainly laid emphatic stress upon the philanthropic spirit, the educational impulse, the humanitarian sentiment. The wail of the widow, the cry of the orphan, even the self-created misery of the reckless and rude, called forth from Him both conduct and aid which were attractive and helpful. He is in these respects especially an example for his followers. With the mass of men, religious life is a practical necessity; they need to get hold, therefore, of its help-side. It is back to Christ we now need to go. The air rings with the proof that social problems are supreme. Sociology, as it is called, is the paramount practical science, and it is, withal, an intensely spiritual science. It is in pith and substance as old as the selfish cry of the slayer of Abel, "Am I my brother's keeper?" It was the learned Rothe who once said: "I do not for one moment doubt that the Lord Jesus Christ has far deeper interest nowadays in the development of our political condition than in our so-called church movements and questions of the day. He knows well which has the more important issues behind it." Christ's method is too often spoken of as exclusively inward, but that is an unwarrantable conclusion. As to bulk, he did more in his ministry for the outward welfare of men than the inward. He met their physical needs with his beneficence, gave healing to their bodies, freed them from maladies of the mind, and discharged really the duties of a social missionary.

Man in his hitherto sharply defined and selfish individualism is being superseded by mankind in coöperative communion and mutual beneficence. The yearning of the age finds voice in the poet's prayer, —

"O God, give us no more giants,
Elevate the race."

The field of the church's fiercest conflicts and greatest triumphs will henceforth not be in that of dogmatic polemics, but in the domain of social problems. Can it evangelize its own cities, going down into the cellars and up into the garrets of its own heathen at home? is the crucial question. It must, therefore, be borne in mind that all our social problems are spiritual at heart. Do they not concern "shattered ambitions and broken hearts; defeated energies and maimed lives; wasted efforts and blighted hopes; starving children and crushed old age; agonized women learning at death's door how they should have lived, and men educated in

theft as if it were an accomplishment, and trained in vice as the readiest means of living; bitter despairs, breeding weakness, wickedness, and keen miseries that make darkness more welcome than light, and the grave the only gospel of rest?" Truly all these are things of the spirit. These are the concerns which drive us to the very sanctuary of souls, to the throne of the Holy Ghost, and to the welcome consolations of the compassionate Christ. The long story of civilization is but the record of the way in which societies of men have met and mastered, or been met and mastered by their social problems. It is therefore a matter of some moment to know if our theological seminaries, especially, are in touch with this social side of the gospel, and are aiming to prepare their graduates to grapple with the social problems of our humanity. A noted English preacher has said "that the bitterest ingredient in the cup of French misery is, that her social progress has been mainly effected by men opposed to her churches and her religion." It will be a sad day for American churches when this hand-to-hand grapple with the woes and wants of the people is taken up by those outside of its membership. The only safe place for the church is in the van of every battle with iniquity, leading in every effort that promises to prevent the waste of manhood, and to contribute to national well-being and to the salvation of the souls of men. Economic impotence and despair are what the church must escape, and to this end the social mission of Christianity must anew be studied and carried out.

Our plea in this paper is a particular one, namely, that to cope with the needs of the world of to-day, to make the gospel of Christ felt as a social and economic force, we need a new chair in all our seminaries, which, perhaps, might be called *the chair of Social Science*. Instruction in this department I would have cover all the questions already alluded to. "What is wanted," says Mr. Ely, "is not dilettanteism with respect to those duties we owe our fellows, but hard study pursued with devotion for years." Courses of lectures on this subject have been maintained in Andover, Yale, and Hartford, and possibly other seminaries, but they have lacked the system and fullness they would have were they from one of the recognized professors in the faculties of these institutions, having an assigned time adequate for the ends in view, and so arranged as to cover the three years of the seminary course. Less than this would not comport with the importance of this proposed department, nor the instruction that the students should receive. We have been so accustomed to exalt the

study of theology that to bring in, as on a par with it, the study of sociology, will strike not a few as a questionable innovation. If philanthropy be the dynamics of Christianity, surely it is worthy of as much attention as we give to the science of theology. Every one familiar with the work of Charles Kingsley and Frederick Denison Maurice knows that it was their leadership in lines of social reform that gained them their best and widest usefulness. Ministers as a rule have not been conversant with the humanitarian possibilities of the gospel, nor have they as a class been able to deal in a practical and commanding way with questions of a social and economic character. They have lacked preparation for this side of their work, and have been influenced more by the conservatism of the church than the imperious and various needs of the world they are to help save and bless. The pulpit is quick to speak upon the errors of socialism, but how few are heard expounding and enforcing the truths of socialism! The times, however, are changing, and churches are beginning to respond to their duties to the masses. Here and there we find them organized for a wide and varied philanthropic work. The Toynbee Hall Mission of East London is being reproduced in American cities, and "Universities Settlements" are now to be found amidst the squalor and sin of our great centres of population. These, however, are ventures of men and women who have gained some deeper, broader understanding of the gospel than has customarily prevailed. These new movements of the Church to cover fields she has hitherto neglected are what necessitate the establishment in all of our theological seminaries of the chair in question. When once the need for it is admitted by those intrusted with the management of these schools, the place for it will be found. Time, too, will be accorded to the teachings of this chair, so that it will not be regarded as a sort of appendix to the professorships which have thus far been considered as essential. It is exactly this sort of feeling we believe must be overcome, ere this new chair will have the rank and field accorded to it which it deserves. We hold that instruction in social science must be henceforth regarded as important as that which is given in the department of theology, and homiletics, and Biblical criticism. Why should not our seminaries be leaders of thought in economic and social studies? Why should not the coming minister be one who has had systematic instruction in reference to the application of the principles of the gospel to the mooted social questions of the day? If the incumbents of our pulpits are to assail every wrong institution and be-

friend the weak and the oppressed, they must know how to do this part of their work with a Christ-like intelligence and spirit. It is a holy and a constructive work, too, to engage in earnest efforts to diminish vice and disease in the cities' slums; to arraign the sweating system; to abolish the present unhealthy and immoral herding of the people in tenements; to protect childhood from enforced labor; to secure for women a living wage for their work; to see that public charity is wisely administered and pauperism curtailed, and that our reformatory and penal institutions are rescued from the domain of politics, and managed according to the most advanced principles developed by the study of penology. The coming minister must be a man of the world, in the sense of understanding its problems, able to meet the workingman on his own grounds and deal with the industrial questions now being discussed in every labor organization. The occupant of a metropolitan pulpit is face to face with every question agitating the commercial world, with every problem of our complex civilization, with the wrongs of the wage-earning classes, with the menacing perils arising from congested wealth, with the dangerous classes and their leaden instincts. This, and more than this, is making the modern minister's outfit one of great concern both to himself and the world which he is to serve. Because of the social side of the gospel he is to preach, the call for its application in new conditions and to classes it has not reached, is the reason why this Chair of Social Science is made one of the pressing requirements of our theological seminaries. Its establishment would bring them into touch with the world, and would bring the students of these institutions into sympathy with this now-developing side of the minister's function. We have trained for theology, why not for these newer phases of life and work? Why not seek to educate saints for the industrial life, like Arnold Toynbee, and hand-to-hand warriors with city misery and wrong like Edward Dennison? We are already beholding apostles of this type in the persons of such workers as Drs. Judson and Rainsford in New York. They lead the way in a ministry which is to require immediate and large reinforcements.

The funds for the establishment of this chair will be forthcoming whenever the trustees and faculties of our seminaries show any decided interest in it. In fact, the lectures already provided in some of these institutions are indicative of a growing feeling as to the importance of instruction in social science. But lectures without any fund supporting them are apt to be regarded as only occa-

sional necessities, and they do not take rank with the professorial instruction which is continuous and comprehensive. Dr. Wescott, Bishop of Durham, standing at the head of "The Christian Social Union" of England, declares through its manifesto, "the problems raised by human society are manifold, intricate, and immense. . . . It is therefore a work that needs care, study, patience, and preparation." In Oxford a profound awakening has been witnessed in reference to social questions, and in its lecture rooms some of the most scholarly minds are giving instruction to increasing numbers of thoughtful students. The incumbent of such a chair will need to be a man of broad sympathies and careful research. The field to be covered is a large one; but the subjects are related, and are such as would arouse the deepest enthusiasm on the part of students. Our men of wealth have ever generously befriended the divinity schools of the country. This is an addition to their teaching corps they will be quick to appreciate, and for which, it cannot be doubted, they would make liberal provision. At all events, the time has come to advance from mere sporadic and subsidiary instruction in this department to the foundation of a chair of social science. Let the curriculum of study be so adjusted as to give this chair equal opportunities with all others. In importance it certainly cannot yield to any other, and through its instruction we may look to see a felt want supplied, and a kind of preparation for ministerial work provided which has hitherto been neglected. "The future will be with the church," says Dr. Allon, of London, "that has in it the greatest moral forces." The same may be alleged of the theological seminary. The future will be with the one that puts itself into touch with the great troubled world, and seeks to train its students in social science, to fit them to become practical leaders in all those problems on whose right solution so much depends. For I believe it cannot be denied "that the social problem is the field on which the decisive battle of Christianity must be fought;" therefore let haste be made to provide for our seminaries the chair which will give evidence to the world that its social phenomena are being reverently studied. Then will the social side of Christ's gospel be appreciated, and its principles applied to the social and economic difficulties of the present times.

Malcolm McG. Dana.

LOWELL, MASS.

EDITORIAL.

A BENEFIT OF THE HIGHER CRITICISM.

IN our August number some of the general advantages of Biblical Criticism were pointed out in respect to the essential truths of revelation, which are not only retained, but are even recovered in a higher spiritual reality. A definite example of the service thus rendered is now offered in confirmation of the views presented in the previous article. This example is drawn from the interpretation of prophecy. The tendency of those studies which result in a better knowledge of the development of Biblical literature is to do away with a bald literalism in the interpretation of Jewish and Christian prophecy, and to replace it by a reasonable and spiritual understanding of those predictions. A concrete instance of this result may be as convincing as more general claims.

Within the present year a singular theory of the fulfillment of prophecy has been given to the public, and has apparently gained many adherents. Its most conspicuous representative is Colonel Totten, of West Point, teacher of military tactics in the Scientific Department of Yale University, a position to which he is appointed by the War Department. Besides various pamphlets and books previously published, he has recently issued, in a well-known illustrated weekly, a series of articles, accompanied by tables of dates and statistics. These articles have drawn out several letters and editorials on the subject. It is quite evident that his theory is readily accepted by no small number of people in various Protestant denominations. A few words are enough to indicate the character of this theory. It is simply a new phase of premillennialism, with the assignment of a definite date for the visible coming of Christ to reign on earth a thousand years. It is maintained that the closing week of history previous to the second coming is the seven years which begin in March, 1892, and close in March, 1899; that the signs of the times are already plain enough to indicate the approaching crisis, and that next year they will become unmistakable in great world-commotions, which, through a series of wars involving all the nations of Europe and the East, and brought to a single issue at last in Palestine, will be ended by the descent of Christ upon the Mount of Olives, when the rebellious nations will be subdued, peace will be universal, and Christ with his saints will rule a thousand years with a rod of iron. It is also maintained by some that those who, previous to March, 1892, shall have deciphered the prophecies and discerned the signs of the times correctly, will before the end of the seven years, probably in March, 1895, be translated, that is, will escape death, and will make up the number of those who reign with Christ over the nations; while those who fail to believe before next March, even though they are sincere Christians, will enjoy no such privileges.

What, now, is the basis and justification of such a theory? It is the assumption that the prophecies of the Old and New Testaments, embodied in symbols and mystic numbers, are history written in advance; that God saw fit, from time to time, to record his plans in such a way that there would be an exact correspondence between early symbols and later events, a correspondence which could be observed only when the events had in part occurred; and that the very dates were indicated in mystic numbers, which, by the aid of later astronomical knowledge, could be accurately determined. For example, the long day of Joshua is considered a pivotal point. It is calculated from following back the conjunctions of sun and moon that the battle occurred on a certain Wednesday; and, by following down the Biblical chronology from the creation of Adam, that the battle occurred on Tuesday of the same week; and so the additional day, when the sun hastened not to go down, is accounted for. With this point fixed, a system of triangulation is applied to various passages of Scripture. The dial of Ahaz, on which the shadow went back, accounts for a forty minutes' rectification of the calendar which is needed; the seventy weeks of Daniel stretch over the centuries; the beasts, and horns, and wheels, and above all the number of the beast, which is 666, described in the Revelation, disclose their significance in subsequent political changes, and, — the puzzle is worked out; the date 1899 is given as the result of various lines of investigation carried on independently of each other; it is proclaimed that the dial is close upon the midnight hour, that the times of distress and horror are impending, but that when the seven years are ended the day will break and the millennium of peace will begin.

For the purposes of such theories, the surface of the entire Bible is one dead level. Passages are seized on without any regard to the writer's characteristics or environment. Genesis, Revelation, Ezekiel, Thessalonians, Psalms, Matthew, are cited as of equal value and authority, and in any order. Phrases are detached from their setting, figurative and poetical style is reduced to mechanical prose, and historical perspective is wholly lost. The entire structure of such a scheme rests upon a belief in the verbal inspiration and the complete infallibility of every part of the Bible. If that belief is without adequate support, this crazy edifice of chiliastic expectation falls at once to the ground. Not only this particular theory, but every other theory of a visible reign of Christ on earth which has been held through the Christian centuries, has for its necessary basis this mechanical literalism in the use of the Bible. Those who do not assign a date for Christ's coming, but yet await it in constant expectation as a coming in power to accomplish those triumphs for which the present dispensation of the Spirit is thought to be incompetent, assume the literal and verbal inspiration of every verse in the Bible, precisely as it stands. Not all believers in the equal authority and correctness of all passages of Scripture are premillenarians, but all premillenarians are believers in the infallibility of all Scripture.

We claim, now, that the so-called Higher Criticism of the Bible renders a valuable service to the church and the world by exploding these alarmist notions, and by taking away the very foundation on which they rest. That widening knowledge of the Bible which finds the setting of history, the human growths and limitations, the divine education of the race by slow degrees, and many other like results, is fatal to gross, literal expectations such as those we have described. Those beliefs, we think, are fraught with mischief, and, so far as they are accepted, retard the kingdom of Christ. They disparage the existing agencies of truth and love. Those who await the coming of Christ, to subdue the nations and usher in the reign of peace, rely on omnipotence rather than on that grace which transforms character. Assuming that the world is growing worse rather than better, they look for that which is startling, spectacular, dramatic, external, miraculous, to subdue the world to God. The renovation of society by the gradual process of ethical and spiritual growth they do not expect and do not believe in. Individuals may be saved, and so rescued from impending danger, converts may be made to these startling interpretations of prophecy, but the nations of the earth wax worse and worse, judgment on them is impending, society is becoming rotten, Christianity in its present forms is a failure. Such theories not only ignore facts all about us, and are blind to the progress of the world under the gospel, but also lead to neglect of the proper work of the church, draw laborers away from toiling in the vineyard to idling in the watch-tower, and throw a glamour of unreality over religion, so that it seems fanciful and visionary. These expectations are not mere harmless beliefs, which if one hold he is none the worse, and if he refuse he is none the better. They have always diverted men from the true work of the gospel, have exposed Christianity to ridicule, and have been followed by disappointments. It is not necessary to refute in detail these opinions, although it is apparent that so complicated an arrangement of numbers and symbols is easily liable to mistake at various points, and that the parallelism of modern history with ancient predictions is an arbitrary selection of events which have some fancied resemblance to the pictorial sketches of prophecy. Such theories are refuted before they are stated, for the entire assumption is false. The most important elements of the problem are left out of account. The real character of the literature which contains the Messianic hope is not understood. The local and temporary is not distinguished from the universal and permanent. The progressive character of revelation, as involving the incompleteness of its earlier stages, is practically ignored. The true spirituality of God's kingdom through the centuries and to the end of the world-age is scarcely recognized. When such elements are omitted it is useless to seek interpretations of numbers and symbols in the later history of the world, or to establish an exact chronology on such suppositions as that Adam was created 5,992 years ago, and that the solar system was held

stationary 23½ hours in the time of Joshua. All such methods and results are set aside when the actual historical development of the writings is understood, and when the human conditions of revelation are recognized. Scholarship renders an important service by substituting facts for fancies, and by replacing the letter by the spirit of truth.

And this service is rendered not merely after a destructive fashion. The Higher Criticism does not crush crude chiliastic expectations by taking away the authority of the Bible, but by distinguishing the great truths of God's revelation of himself from the modes in which they have been apprehended and stated, by reinstating that truth which is the power for renewing character and reconciling God and man in its royal place, and by tracing the ever-growing hope of the kingdom of God through its crass, materialistic forms, in which men at first of necessity apprehended it, to its purer Christian forms, in parables of leaven and mustard-seed, in beatitudes, and prayer and precept concerning the kingdom.

The only merit we can discover in the theory under consideration is the desire it expresses to work out a philosophy of history. It makes a survey of the nations, it notices socialistic commotions and political disturbances, it observes the recent emigration of several thousand Jews to Palestine, it recognizes the possibilities of war which lie in the so-called Eastern question, and out of it all frames a comprehensive theory of the triumph of the kingdom of God. But the little merit there is, in sweeping so wide a horizon to see the unfolding of God's world-plan, is lost in misinterpretation of facts and in crudity of conclusion.

As against every such theory of a display of omnipotence and a drama of miracle, it is enough to remember that the very genius of Christianity is entirely foreign to the assumption that its progress and results are offered in the shape of a puzzle which can be worked out only by a complicated scheme of solar, lunar, and astral years.

We believe that the results of Biblical scholarship are already felt through the churches to such a degree as to make intelligent Christians more and more impatient of those uses of the Bible which are of the letter rather than of the spirit, and that the value which is given by the Higher Criticism to the spiritual truths of Christianity cannot fail to be recognized more and more fully by the church at large, till it is seen that the kingdom of God is a kingdom of righteousness and peace, — a kingdom of purified character and of renovated society.

RECENT SPECULATION IN CANADA.

WE use the word "speculation" in its older and nobler sense, in which it characterizes an endeavor to see into the meaning of phenomena, and to forecast the consequences of what is observed. We shall also confine our comments to one phase of this speculative thought, in which it deals

with the problem of the political prospects and destiny of the Dominion, or of its oldest province.

In the commercial and industrial warfare between leading nations, which has succeeded to the military contests of the centuries immediately preceding, there is now in this country a motive of self-interest adverse to schemes of political union with adjoining countries. The prizes of this new warfare are not provinces, but markets; not opportunities to govern, but to sell; not conquests which would involve administrative responsibilities, but a commercial domination which can fill our coffers, while we are released from the troublesome questions likely to arise in connection with any form of civil authority or confederation. But this method of dealing with other lands, whether near or far, although more refined than that of our marauding ancestors of distant times, and less destructive as well as less heroic than the sanguinary wars which run through the earlier period of our history, will eventually fall under the same moral judgment which now restrains the nations in their use of shell and shot; and thoughtful men are wisely endeavoring to discover in the permanent conditions of human life on this continent, as well as in its existing social, religious, and political factors, indications of what is to come, and guides to the effort which may hasten a better day.

As interesting signs and effective expressions of these more thoughtful studies, we would call attention to three works, divergent in aim, embodying conflicting opinions, yet each contributing something distinctive to the larger problem we have indicated, and all reflective of a type of thought which, however narrow at times may be its range, does at least attempt to look before as well as after, and to counsel accordingly.

One of these books is written by a well-known author, cosmopolitan in his training and habits of thought, an Oxford professor, an American lecturer, a loyal British subject, and true Canadian. Another is from a barrister of the Dominion, versed in constitutional history, and inspired with the newly awakened spirit of devotion to the Confederation, and charmed with the vision of the "New Empire." The third book is from a Jesuit Father, who represents the aspirations of a powerful section of the Dominion, and who sees in the overflow of the French Canadian population into New England and Northern New York the omen and beginning of a possible New France, which will more than fulfill on these shores the promise which was blighted, but not destroyed, when Wolfe, on the Plains of Abraham, "died victorious."

The key-note of Professor Goldwin Smith's "Canada and the Canadian Question"¹ is struck in its first sentence: "Whoever wishes to know what Canada is, and to understand the Canadian Question, should begin by turning from the political to the national map." Such a map

¹ *Canada and the Canadian Question.* By Goldwin Smith, D. C. L., with map. Pp. x, 325. Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Company. Williamson & Co. Macmillan & Company, London and New York. 1891.

faces the words we have quoted, and shows the Dominion to be composed of four geographical divisions, each separated from its adjoining political associate by wide spaces of water or wilderness, or both, or by mountain ranges. In this classification Quebec and Ontario are grouped as "Old Canada." They, too, are really separated from each other, though in a different way, namely, ethnologically and religiously. Each of the four geographical divisions is naturally related to the territory lying south of it and included in the United States. "Such is the real Canada. Whether the four blocks of territory constituting the Dominion can forever be kept by political agencies united among themselves and separate from their Continent, of which geographically, economically, and with the exception of Quebec ethnologically, they are parts, is the Canadian Question." The discussion of this problem is followed through nearly three hundred pages of clear and effective argument, with which are blended an instructive sketch of Canadian history, and a valuable analysis of the Constitution of the Dominion, the latter deserving to be read with Senator Hoar's recent admirable comparison of this Constitution with our own, in a paper presented last April to the American Antiquarian Society. If political combinations were necessarily determined by economical relations, the contention of this book that sooner or later the United States and Canada will form one Federal Union would prove a sure word of prophecy. Its author is not unaware of the difficulties in the way of such a consummation. We cannot charge him with overlooking or failing to consider any element of the complicated problem. The place for difference of opinion must be found, if found at all, in the estimate of forces. It is extremely difficult to gauge some of these,—for instance, that of local patriotism, or the desire, composed of many distinct elements, to develop an independent nation in Canada. So far as we can judge, the "Dominion" is at present rather a convenience than an object of affection and loyalty. The cry of Canada for Canadians is rather the conscious aim of a literary class than a spontaneous and widely diffused patriotism. It must needs reinforce itself by an appeal to the "British spirit," which provokes a strong antagonism, the Celtic, whether Irish or French. The latter is an important factor in the problem. It may throw its weight into the scale of provincial independence, and prove decisive as against union with this country, as well as against the development of a national unity under the existing Confederation, or the continuance of political dependence upon England, or every political scheme of a "Greater Britain." We suppose, however, that Professor Smith would deem any and every form of independence as merely transitory, and as preparatory to something larger and better, and much may be said for this view. We are not so sure, however, as he appears to be, of the ultimate settlement of the question by geographical conditions and political economy. There is a spirit in communities, as in men individually regarded, that shapes their destinies.

Whatever may be thought of the conclusiveness of this very readable and interesting discussion, it is fitted to stimulate and guide inquiry, and we shall be pleased if this brief reference to it serves in any way to increase the number of its readers and attention to its problem.

Mr. Howland's book¹ is a thoughtful and independent contribution to the question discussed by Professor Smith, and is probably more representative than his of the present attitude of the literary class in Canada whose native tongue is the English. Like Professor Smith's, it offers much matter that is of value on this side of the line, and apart from its bearing on the main contention of the author. Such, for instance, is the treatment of the American Revolution in its influence upon the history of English liberty and the unwritten constitution of the British Empire, — its marking the turning-point from government by prerogative to government by the people. Another instance is the extended historical review of the treaty of peace (1783) between the American colonies and the mother country. Particularly deserving of attention at the present time, in view of the industrial warfare to which we have referred, is the author's account of the negotiations which brought about this treaty, and of the part played by Lord Shelburne. We agree with our author that an "insufficient popular appreciation of historical and political facts" is answerable for much of the narrow and demagogical character of the discussion, in portions of the public press, of questions that arise from time to time between this country and Great Britain, and we heartily commend his endeavor to recall attention to such facts.

The animus and purpose of "The New Empire" may be shown by a single citation: —

"A single generation, in this century of anniversaries, will soon have witnessed the centenaries of three great dates in the history of the British Empire, critical in the political progress of the whole English race. One of these occasions has been celebrated with great and appropriate *éclat*; one passed in unnoticed silence; the third is almost at hand. Of the two dates the centenaries of which are already past, one was 1760, the year when the conquest of Canada had consummated the old Colonial Empire, and raised it, militant and overbearing, to the height of its glory. The other was 1776, when the blow was struck under which the ancient structure began to dissolve away. But a third, and for us a greater, anniversary will arrive in 1891. 1791 is memorable as the date of the Act which set apart the new Province of Upper Canada to be the home of English emigration. . . .

"The Constitution granted to the new Province (and to the sister Province of Lower Canada), in the words of Governor Simcoe to his first Parliament, was 'no mutilated Constitution, but an image and transcript of that of Great Britain.' The Canadian Constitutional Act created the first of the modern Colonies. The rights of self-government guaranteed to the inhabitants of Upper and Lower Canada did not originate by the capricious grace of a Royal

¹ *The New Empire*. Reflections upon its Origin and Constitution, and its Relation to the Great Republic. By O. A. Howland, of Osgood Hall, Barrister-at-Law. Pp. xix, 608. Toronto: Hart & Company. 1891.

Charter, but by a full, irrevocable cession of powers from the whole Parliament of the United Kingdom. This is what chiefly distinguished the Canadian Constitutional Act from the charter of the older Province of Nova Scotia, and from the charters of all former Colonies. It was not a charter, but a Constitution. It was a recognition of one of the contentions that had ended in the American Revolution: that charters of self-government were vested rights of the people, not transitory creations of the Royal will. Along with the clauses establishing the Local Legislature, there was a clause declaring that there should be in *Canada a Council for the affairs of Canada*. It is this Council, commencing in the eighteenth century, as an engine of the Prerogative, which, by successive enactment and by steady practice, has developed into complete Constitutional Government: such as obtains to-day in all the chief Colonies of the Empire.

"Thus the Canada Act of 1791 contained within itself the prolific germ of all that constitutional progress which has since been effected throughout the modern Colonial system. The foundation of Upper Canada was the beginning of the New Empire."¹

The secret of the New Empire is thus the autonomy of the Colonies. On this basis the author rejects the usual trilemma proposed for Canada. — Federation, Independence, or Annexation. He contends that another kind of government already has become established, — local self-government, together with union in a vast Empire, of which the "Queen of Great Britain and Ireland and of the Colonies and Dependencies thereof" is the august head. This traditional title, the author contends, has already gained a new meaning with the close of prerogative government. The relation of a Canadian to the Queen is not derivative and mediate, but direct. The Queen is Queen of Canada, no less than of England. Every Canadian is *ipso facto* not only a subject of the Queen, but also a citizen of the "New Empire." This citizenship, however, as the author develops his scheme, becomes more and more shadowy. He criticises the Federationists for their adherence to the common conception of federal union which involves a central authority, executive, legislative, and judicial. The autonomy of the Provinces in the "New Empire," in his interpretation, is to extend, not merely to their internal administration, but to their foreign relations. Indeed, an "Imperial Supreme Court" seems to be the only federal sovereignty which retains its substance. Notwithstanding, therefore, the generous ardor with which the writer espouses the cause of the Empire, we think that his argument and proposals favor that of Independence. The unity he eulogizes is intrinsically moral, and in a good sense sentimental; it lacks indispensable elements of governmental unity. It is noteworthy that, from the ideal side of the Canadian problem which this book appreciates and represents, the Federation theory of the Empire is found to be defective and impracticable, as it is from the economical and practical. At this point Mr. Howland and Mr. Goldwin Smith will be found to reinforce

¹ Pages 351-354.

the remarkable attack in the last "Edinburgh Review" on Imperial Federation, and to promote its contention for "Colonial Independence."

The London "Spectator,"¹ while agreeing with the "Edinburgh Review" in its rejection of a federal union, contends, as does Mr. Howland, for a "community of citizenship" throughout all the countries now subject to the Queen. What this involves of obligations and rights is left wholly unexplained. It leads up, however, to a suggestion of indissoluble treaties of alliance, offensive and defensive, and of courts of arbitration, and includes in this plan the United States, as well as Great Britain and her Colonies. How it is to be decided that a *casus belli* has arisen is not explained. Mr. Howland advocates, with sustained and effective eloquence, the establishment of "a common tribunal" for the adjustment of disputed questions between this country and Canada. The plan deserves careful consideration. If it should be carried into effect, the consequences would be far-reaching and most salutary.

So far, the outcome of the argument favors, as the next important stage in Canadian history, practical, perhaps formal, Independence.

This, too, is the aspiration of those who control the politics, and have behind them the leading social and religious forces, of Old Canada. It is not, however, the sovereignty of the new Dominion for which they principally care, but the ancient leadership of the sons of France, emancipated from dependence on their mother country. In a word, the dream is of a New France, as others are seeing in a beautiful vision the new British Empire. The third book² to which we would invite attention fills out the scheme of this New France to larger proportions by including the anticipated peaceful conquest of New England by the settlement in it and rapid multiplication of French Canadians. Lest we should convey a wrong impression, we would distinctly declare at this point that the main purpose of Father Hamon's book is not political, but religious. Its subject is the French Canadians in New England, and its object to aid them in preserving their faith. This, however, requires, in the author's view, that they maintain their language and their nationality. The book thus becomes incidentally, but all the more strikingly for this reason, a testimony to a purpose in a large portion of the citizens of the Dominion at variance with either of the methods of solving the problem of its political future on which we have hitherto commented. We shall probably recur at some other time to this volume on account of the valuable information it supplies respecting the French Canadian settlements in New England, and the methods and aims of the Roman Catholic Church. We notice it now simply for its outlook upon the political future. And what is noteworthy is that the writer seems to be as good as ignorant of the first member of the Canadian trilemma: "Two suppositions appear to be

¹ July 25, 1891.

² *Les Canadiens-Français de la Nouvelle Angleterre*. Par E. Hamon, S. J. Pp. xv, 484. Québec: N. S. Hardy, Libraire-Éditeur, 9 et 10 rue Notre Dame. 1891.

possible: either the Province of Quebec will have one day its autonomy, and will become an independent people; or it will annex itself to the United States."

The author leaves out of account in his reasoning many elements of the problem, not only those justly emphasized by Professor Goldwin Smith, but moral and spiritual forces as well. On this side of the line Quebec is the stumbling-stone in the path of union. But our author's forecast as to one possible result of the French-Canadian migration may in the end be justified, though in a very different way from the one which he maps out.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONGREGATIONAL COUNCIL, —WHAT IT
ACCOMPLISHED; WHAT IT REPRESENTED.

It is doubtful if any other body of Christians could have assembled in a representative capacity, and have given so little time to ecclesiastical affairs as the Congregationalists gave at their recent Council. We will not at this point raise the question whether the absence of ecclesiasticism was or was not a mark of denominational strength. We are now simply recording a fact which is evident from the perusal of the papers and discussions which occupied the time of the delegates. No attempt was made to minimize denominational interests. There was no affectation of indifference to such matters. The historical background of Congregationalism was never lost sight of, and the practical workings of the system under the variations of differing social and political conditions were carefully presented; but evidently the interest of the Council was in matters of common religious concern. Nothing could have been broader, more catholic, more Christian, than the opening address by the President, Dr. Dale, upon the "Divine Life in Man." It was a noble and lofty utterance, worthy of being sent out as an encyclical to all the Congregational churches, and worthy of being held up as an expression of a true catholic Christianity. It struck the real note of Christian unity. We doubt if within the century so generous words have been uttered towards religious opponents as the following words recognizing the devotion to a common spiritual principle by the sacramentarian party of the Anglican Church: "It is the faith of all churches and of all theologies that can be called Christian, that the end for which the Lord Jesus Christ came into the world is the realization by man of the righteousness, the blessedness, and the glory of the life of God. Here we are at one with the great religious communities with which we and our fathers have had grave and sometimes fierce and bitter controversies, — controversies on the nature and polity of the church and its place in the spiritual order; on the methods by which the divine grace effects the salvation of men; on the ideal and discipline of Christian perfection; on the authority which should determine the faith and practice of those who confess that Christ

is their Saviour and Lord. Among the men from whom we are divided by these cruel conflicts, but from whom our hearts should never be estranged, we recognize a saintliness shining with a glory that has its fountains in God; in their very contention and argument for errors which seem to us to obscure the light and impair the power of the Christian gospel we catch an accent which is the sign that they, too, are the children of the Eternal. If they maintain with passionate earnestness a doctrine of the priesthood and of the sacraments, which appears to us to be irreconcilable with the whole spirit and substance of the Christian faith, if they regard those who reject and assail this doctrine as the worst enemies of the human race, it is because for them the sacraments, when duly administered, are the appointed means by which the grace of God first originates and then sustains the divine life in man. It is this which in their judgment makes the sacramental and sacerdotal controversy so critical, so awful. In that controversy, as they suppose, the whole power and glory of the Christian redemption are at stake. They are contending for the sacredness and efficacy of the institutions by which they believe that the eternal life of God is made the actual possession of mankind."

It became evident, as soon as the theological discussions were reached, which early engaged the attention of the Council, that the theological attitude of the English Congregationalists was much freer and more fearless than that of their American brethren. Dr. Dale's magnificent affirmation of the deity of Christ in his address had been followed by the clearest and most absolute vindication of the heritage and rights of the whole human race in Christianity. When Dr. Fairbairn rose to speak, he addressed himself at once to the higher criticism, and was very pronounced in his advocacy of it. "I stand to plead for this, — historical criticism has given us back the lost Scripture. Instead of saying that we had in the old doctrine a doctrine of inspiration, I am prepared to maintain that we lost it, and turned what was meant to be a great living history of redemption into a repository of evidential texts unscientifically used, and meant only for occasional service. Through the newer criticism we get at the older Scriptures, — nay, we come to see this, that the entire history that went before Christ concerned Christ; it is not a dead letter, to be read as is a will and testament: it is living history that throbs with Him, that contains Him, that blossoms into Him, and that, therefore, has Him as first, has Him as last, has Him as all in all, — the revelation, the manifestation of God in his redeeming power and saving might for men. Since, then, we have these tendencies, we have great reconstructive energies in our midst. We are nearer a systematic theology to-day than in the days of Pye Smith and Ralph Wardlaw; we are nearer a true theory of inspiration than when the Westminster Confession was formulated, or when the Congregational Union of England and Wales was founded; and we are nearer it because we

are nearer the old standpoint. If Luther came back to some of the men of to-day, he would make short work of some of their theories. I wish John Calvin would return from Geneva; he would be quite prepared to take up the cudgels on behalf of the men who are seeking to recover the Scriptures against the men who are seeking to lose them."

Dr. Bradford's strong plea for the emancipation of the American churches from doctrinal creeds as tests of membership served to bring out the comparative freedom of the English churches at this point. It has often been said that such a theological controversy as that through which we have passed would have been impossible in the English churches, not because of looser organization, but because of a different theological temper. We think that the truth of this remark must have been apparent to the American delegates at the recent Council. Indeed, had the Council been held ten years ago, it is not unlikely that it would have made the conflict impossible here. But the freedom which might have been gained by this larger and more cosmopolitan sentiment would not have been the equivalent of the freedom which has now been earned. Professor Stearns set forth in his paper very fairly, in its negative results, the effect of the theological contention in our New England churches: "During the last decade we have been discussing, as the world pretty well knows, the relation of the heathen to God's grace in Christ. The old view which prevailed during the last century, and had many advocates until quite recent times, doomed the heathen as a mass to perdition. This severe doctrine has been generally abandoned. Our discussions have not been upon this point, but upon the question as to the manner and grounds of the salvation of those heathen who are saved. The common view has been that their imperfect faith, based upon their natural knowledge of God and of such elements of truth as are contained in their corrupt religions, is reckoned to them for righteousness for the sake of Christ who gave himself a ransom for all, and that so their eternal destiny is settled on the basis of the decisions of this life. The able and devoted teachers in our beloved mother theological seminary at Andover have urged the other view, common in Germany, that an opportunity is granted the heathen in the other life, between death and the judgment, to hear the gospel, and accept or reject Christ. I do not propose to enter into the merits of our controversy. So far as it has involved unchristian bitterness, we are ashamed of it. We are hard fighters on our side of the water, and both parties have dealt heavy blows. The result of the discussion has been to emphasize the silence of the Scriptures on this subject. The majority still hold the older view, because it seems to us more in accord with the general drift of the Scripture and the principles of our New England theology. But there is increasing willingness to admit that our speculations cannot exhaust the possibilities of God's redemptive grace, and that a point of this sort can never permanently be made a test of orthodoxy."

The advantage of American above English Congregationalism was apparent in the sessions devoted to questions of polity and organization. Congregationalism is more indigenous to the institutions of this country than to those of England. It has had therefore more scope in social and political affairs. It has had also greater opportunities for administrative effect. The rapid expansion of the country has called into play the inventive side of religious activity, and developed a great variety of "means" not known elsewhere because unnecessary. All this, as characteristic of American Congregationalism, was set forth in the admirable address by Mr. Fullerton, on the part which Congregationalism had taken in the making of New England and of the United States; in the more technical but highly informing papers by Drs. Quint and Ross on the economy of Congregationalism; and in the vigorous and enthusiastic speeches of several of the American delegates representing the various missionary organizations of the denomination, and the work of societies like the Christian Endeavor.

The interest of the Council seems to have culminated in the session set apart for the discussion of social and economic questions, though of discussion in the sense of debate there was none, and no difference of opinion was developed. A striking personal contribution to the meeting was made in the speech by Ben Tillett, a day-laborer, one of the most prominent among the labor leaders in London, and a member of an East London Congregational church. The speech was without bitterness, but alive with passion in its urgency for *action*. "We are always inquiring, always searching, yet we never do any work, — always analyzing, yet never altering. We want some moral force brought to bear that shall give momentum to altruistic principles, — some power brought to bear to break the hard crust of sordid greed. I know of no humanitarian effort so potent in rationalizing influences as the Christianity that can lend itself to practical every-day life. Statesmen require neither knowledge nor evidence, for they are surfeited with both already. Neither do we require conviction; the lame excuses of the rich testify that they realize their wickedness. Let us develop a conscience alive and responding to all generous instincts; a Christly sanity in judgment; a religion warm and merciful, pulsating with heroic nobleness, breathing out life and soul, rebuking and chastening all sins — conventional or unconventional — whose ultimate results mean misery."

Dr. Gladden gave a terse, axiomatic review of the present economic situation, out of which has come that "social residuum which furnishes the real problem of Christian statesmanship," and then discussed the remedy. To individualism he conceded the initiative in all enterprise, but would not pause to refute its selfish and heartless conclusions. To socialism he denied any further relief than that effected by the use of the state to equalize taxation, extirpate monopolies, and to resume corporate powers which have been unwisely surrendered to private parties. The real and

only remedy is in the application of Christianity to industry and trade. "Mr. Carnegie's idea is the prevalent one, — a man must be an industrialist while he is making his fortune, and a socialist after it is made; is it not better that he should be a Christian all the while? So I, for one, believe; and if it is true, then the Church of God has no more urgent business just now than to convince the world that it is true. The effect of believing it would be a quiet industrial revolution. It would not abolish private property, but it would enforce the obligation to administer private property for the public good. It would preserve the individual initiative in business, but it would put an end to industrial feudalism. The employer, with this law fixed in his mind, could no longer insist that his business was his individual affair; he would know that his employees were his business partners. The employee, instructed in this wisdom, would cease to regard his employer as his natural enemy, and would begin to think of him as the captain to whom his loyalty was due, his leader in the ways of welfare. Such tempers must conduct to the adoption, in some form, of the principle of industrial partnership, — the end of the feud between laborer and employer, the practical identification of their interests."

The sessions of the Council, extending from July 13th to the 21st, were crowded with prepared exercises, while all the intervals between seemed to have been utilized to the fullest extent in social festivities. Much of the time was taken up — far too much for any succeeding Council — in a comparison of views, and far too little time was reserved for the free discussion of the greater subjects. As a result, we miss any enunciation of principles, corresponding, for example, to the deliverance of the Lambeth Conference on the unity of the church. And we miss equally any serious exhortation to the churches on the tremendous issues involved in the present social distress. We content ourselves — for the outcome in this direction is very assuring — with a large increase of practical Congregational fellowship, and with a considerable widening of opinion and faith throughout the Congregational churches. What the churches of this country have needed during the past few years has been a change of atmosphere; and we doubt not that the more mellow though not less vital religious climate of England will prove to have produced a healthful effect.

A more important if not more interesting question than, What the Council accomplished? is the question, What it represented? It is not enough to say that it represented Congregationalism. For Congregationalism has not of late years presented itself before the religious world in the large and well-defined proportions of the great Protestant bodies. Its power has been recognized and acknowledged in its indirect effects, — its social, educational, and political influence, — but it has lost ground relatively as a polity. A correspondent of "The Guardian," the

organ of the English Church, writing in criticism of the Council, asks why Congregationalism in the United States, which had the start and the ground, has allowed all the newer organizations to outstrip it; and, further, why it has not gained upon Congregationalism in England, where the conditions are seemingly adverse. The answer of the correspondent to the latter question is, that Congregationalism needs the stimulus of controversy and oppression to give it growth and vitality. "It looks as if American Congregationalism just needed the stimulating influences which English Independency finds in the struggle with what its orators call a persecuting church. Any way, it is a fact of no little significance that the more political form of Independency which exists in England presents a stronger front to the world than does the sister denomination in the States. We would not for one moment say that Congregationalism in England is nothing more than a political organization, having for its highest aim the overthrow of the church, yet the facts revealed in the International Council, in regard to Independency in America, do more than suggest that the political character of Congregationalism at home constitutes a most important and powerful factor in its history. Not only does it form the stronger part of its aggressive action, but it gives a certain cohesion, directness, and force to a religious system which, when deprived of all political associations, fails, under the most favorable conditions, to achieve a success at all equal to that which is reached by the younger and less favored sects." Various answers might be given to the first question proposed, more or less explanatory of the comparatively slow growth of Congregationalism in the United States, — the early Unitarian defection and controversy, the period of dallying with Presbyterianism, which lost the great Middle States to Congregationalism; and the exclusion from the South while slavery was a religious question, — still the fact remains that Congregationalism as a polity has not been able to compete with the more highly organized denominations. The Baptist churches, which are largely congregational in form, have, indeed, become very numerous, but no one would claim that polity, rather than ritual, accounts for their growth.

What, then, does Congregationalism represent as a polity, especially in the United States? We think that it represents two things, each of which is a very pronounced factor in the religious life of the people. First, it is proving itself a natural form of Christian association and development in the newer parts of the country. Where the conditions are free and elastic, where the people come together from various sources and with varying religious habits, the *natural* basis of union is Congregationalism. Congregationalism is proving itself a conserving and saving force in the rush of immigration into the newer States; and its growth there, as compared with its previous growths, is phenomenal; and this later growth, it is to be remembered, is *religious*, not chiefly educational or political, though the Congregationalism of the newer West is loyal in these respects to the New England traditions.

And, second, Congregationalism is a potent factor in the more highly organized bodies. It lives and asserts itself under absorption. It marks a distinct line of cleavage in the bodies which have seemed to gain at its expense. Methodism has drawn little if anything from Congregationalism, and is therefore undisturbed by the Congregational element. Still it acknowledges Congregationalism as an outside disturbing force by the increasing draft upon its younger ministry into the Congregational ranks. But of Presbyterianism and Episcopacy it may fairly be said that they are divided by the Congregational principle. Congregationalism is present in each body, and active under every undue assertion of institutionalism. Occasionally it takes the aggressive in the revision of creeds and in the election of bishops.

No one has measured Congregationalism in America who has left out the vast influence which it at present exerts in its protest *within* the more ecclesiastical bodies against the tyranny of institutionalism. And in any efforts toward Church Unity this element, within all the various denominations, must be reckoned with, quite as much as that which remains without, and organized into Congregational churches.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

THE death of James Russell Lowell on the 12th of August deprives America of her representative man of letters, and of intelligent, patriotic, independent citizenship. The range of his activities was not confined to literature; his achievements were widespread in their character and influence. The versatility of his talents is the striking characteristic of his distinguished career. As moral reformer, university professor, magazine editor, diplomat, public speaker, literary, social, and political essayist, and poet, he has won a richly merited fame.

In a passing word concerning his services as professor, editor, and diplomat, it is sufficient to say, without detracting, that his professorial and diplomatic career will leave no lasting mark. His lectures on *Belles-Lettres* in the University, especially the inspiring course on Dante, are still referred to with enthusiasm by the few Harvard men who listened to them. Many of us, who were not privileged to enjoy that good fortune, pleasantly remember the gracious manner in which he met our occasional appeals for counsel and information. As the nation's minister to Spain, and subsequently to England, he entered into congenial fields for the study of literature and the philosophy of government. Little opportunity was afforded him in either country for any display of the special gifts of diplomacy. At the court of St. James he was a splendid social success. His elegant culture, charming urbanity of deportment, sturdy American patriotism, and remarkable ability as a speaker on festive and literary occasions, gained him the high and just appreciation of all classes of English society. No man has contributed more to the development

of the present good feeling which exists between England and America than Mr. Lowell. It was his cherished hope that the two nations would some day be united by the establishment of a supreme tribunal. "It is a beautiful dream," he said, "but it is none the worse for that. Many of the best things we have begun by being dreams." His editorial labors covered a period of fourteen years. When the "*Atlantic Monthly*" was instituted he reluctantly consented to be its first editor. For five years he continued in that capacity with conspicuous success. He was afterwards associated with Charles Eliot Norton in the very able conduct of the "*North American Review*" for nine years.

Though doing much of the world's work, he was rarely seen in the world's ways. He was not one to command an eager enthusiasm amongst the people; the people scarcely knew him by sight. Nevertheless, there are few men who will be more sensibly missed by cultivated minds as a stimulating, moulding, and fruitful influence upon their life and thought. Happily for them, and for succeeding generations of those who more or less will lead the intellectual life, the essential qualities and products of his genius are treasured up within the goodly volumes of his personally edited published works.

As to these writings, it is not an uninteresting question whether Lowell has bequeathed a legacy of prose and verse which will "resist the flow of time." It is less a matter of serious interest whether his true fame will rest upon his achievements as poet or as critic. Beyond controversy, Nature lavishly endowed him with the susceptible imagination of the poet and the judicial intellect of the critic. He owed his original position in the world of letters to his poetry, perhaps, more strictly speaking, to his humorous and satirical poetry. The seriousness and depth of his thinking was strengthened with the varied experience of his advancing years; and his increasing care for form and finish resulted long ago in making him a consummate artist of poetic expression. For years he had enjoyed the distinction of being the cherished poet of men of literary culture. But while his poetic faculty had more than forty years of productive energy, we may justly claim for Lowell equal eminence as a prose-writer. The consensus of competent opinion awards him the title of ranking amongst the first critical essayists of his time. Not that he is to be thought of as the literary successor of the French *Sainte-Beuve*. *Sainte-Beuve* has had no successor. Lowell had not such profound insight as Emerson, and he was surpassed in originality and brilliancy by Edwin Percy Whipple. In the variety and general character of his gifts and achievements he had more in common with Matthew Arnold and John Morley. But Arnold had not Lowell's gifts of diplomacy; and Morley, with all his genius for rhythm, lacks "the accomplishment of verse." Lowell's qualities of graceful and effective public speech are perhaps matched in Morley, while Arnold's attempts at public speaking were unmitigatedly bad. Keen satirist as Lowell was, he had not Arnold's gift of sustained

light irony, — his “happy malice of the pen.” Lowell was more of a genuine humorist than Arnold, but never was so irritating as he. Both had a spirit of moral rigor in their work derived from strong hereditary impression; and both nearly realized in their fascinating literary manner the ideal of what Arnold called the Attic style, with its “warm glow, blithe movement, and soft pliancy of life;” though Arnold, on the whole, more nearly realized the Attic ideal than his American contemporary. In the moral and intellectual character of their criticism, Lowell’s strain was far healthier, more trustworthy, and consequently more helpful. Lowell could discern faults and dangers, and could blame with stinging speech when disapproval was needed; but he never, in criticising, put on the airs of a superior being, nor employed the tone of superciliousness, as his English brother-critic too often did.

A more important question than the longevity of Lowell’s fame, or the comparative values of his work in poetry and criticism, is whether or not his work, while he was living, was a vital force, permeating, shaping, enlightening, elevating, and enriching the public mind and heart of his own day and generation. Unquestionably, he directly aimed at exerting a beneficent influence upon life in its individual, social, and political aspects; unquestionably he achieved his purpose. No better evidence can be furnished of the positive effect he produced, not only upon the ablest men amongst his own countrymen, but also in no inconsiderable degree upon the leaders of opinion in English letters and politics, than the impressive and glowing tributes to his life and writings paid by the highest authorities on both sides of the Atlantic. This sincere admiration was expressed long years before his death called out the recent eulogiums upon his genius. From the time that he awakened the attention of his countrymen through the trumpet-call of “The Present Crisis,” and the wit and wisdom of “The Biglow Papers,” down to the publication of “The Commemoration Ode” and “The Cathedral,” and the delivery of the great addresses upon “Democracy” and “Harvard University,” his writings often have been the theme of the choicest companies of the thinkers and scholars in literature and politics, both in England and America. While the verdict of posterity is the only competent one that can be trusted as to the endurance of his fame, we may safely venture to imagine him as never losing his present high place from the front rank in America’s classic literature.

The permanent interest in his work will lie chiefly in the fact that the sources of his inspiration sprung from the deep ethical and spiritual nature of the man. Behind the critic in him lay the poet; behind the poet was the humanitarian, the patriot, the instructor and interpreter of the public conscience; and within and blending with them all was the pure strain of a noble, fearless, self-respecting Christian manhood. In a word, Lowell’s greatness came from the force of his character. He was a New England Puritan, enlightened and modernized. The best blood

of the older New England, modified and strengthened by the best blood of Scotland, ran in his veins. The instinctive heredity of his robust mental and moral health, of his shrewd, homely good sense, of all that goes to make up what in the phrase of modern culture is styled *sanity*, gave to his entire mental product its prime distinction.

In addition to his keen perception of the deep things of the world and the higher things of the spirit, he successfully appealed to the enduring elements in human nature. He kept in sensitive touch with the men and problems of his own time. While he wrote and spoke to the best intellectual life of his day, he was alive to truths of moral import and æsthetic value that are more abiding than the fleeting tastes and opinions of the hour. Even his themes of ephemeral interest received an artistic treatment which implied a most convincing and attractive temporary fitness. "The Biglow Papers" will long be read with delight, because of the practical knowledge of human nature and the wholesome spirit of humanity that pervade them, and the wonderful art that so flexibly employs the uncouth Yankee dialect for their vehicle of expression. The humorous and satirical sentiment and the moral and political significance of these unique Papers are enhanced by the fine philological scholarship of their author. They are preëminently the classic work in the diction and idiom of the quaint speech of the rural New England of an earlier day.

To speak still further of Lowell's literary art: it is obvious that a lofty character, noble aspirations, and varied intellectual endowments do not necessarily constitute the poetical or critical faculty. To have great art, the excellence of form in literary expression must be identical with dignity of substance. Lowell's poetic art was strong and good because of the depth of the central fire of poetic passion within him, and his easy mastery of metrical composition. His delicate apprehension of the spiritual essence in common things, which made him a mental kinsman of Wordsworth, is embodied in most of his serious verse in diction and rhythmic form and movement that is distinctively poetic. In the poems, expressed in the language of every-day feeling, the graces of a nimble wit and a delicious humor play among the virtues of noble conceptions, and are held in the control of an almost perfect *technique*. To many people, especially in England, Lowell will be remembered only as a great humorist. "Hawthorne is easily your first American novelist," said the accomplished editor of the London "Saturday Review" to the present writer, "and Lowell is easily your first man of humor. We have nothing like him in England." "The Biglow Papers" will stand as the high-water mark of American humorous and dialect poetry. But Lowell was rarely humorous merely for the sake of raising a laugh.

In the hands of this master of satire and ridicule, these qualities of his mental equipment were primarily weapons to be used in the warfare of humanity. Both in the war with Mexico and in the war of the Great Rebellion, the controlling purpose of the "Biglow Papers" was to

stimulate the sense of national righteousness, and his true literary instinct told him wherein his great strength lay: it was in satire; and into the use of that weapon, which was peculiarly his own, he put his whole power. Within the humor and lightness of the expression was the strong inherited moral earnestness that nerved and directed the effective blows.

Seriousness of purpose like his is generally rooted in religious faith. No justice can be done to Lowell which does not recognize the deep religiousness of his nature. Referring again to Arnold, his English analogue, we find him to be the poet of modern doubt. The general characteristic of his poetry, as it was that of the poetry of Arthur Hugh Clough, is moral and intellectual doubt. Their views of life were sorrowful and desponding. Lowell regretfully said of his friend Clough: "He will be thought, a hundred years hence, to have been the truest expression in verse of the moral and intellectual tendencies, the doubt and struggle towards settled convictions, of the period in which he lived." In happy contrast with these despairing brothers of song, we turn to Lowell, whose genius was nurtured under the same intellectual conditions of the times, and we find the poet of religious affirmation. One cannot read thoughtfully many of his shorter poems, like "The Search," "Godminster Chimes," "The Foot-Path," and "Rabbi Jehosha," without coming into touch with a heart that loves his fellow-men, and profoundly trusts in God. But this poet of religious faith strikes his highest notes in the most popular of all his poems, "Sir Launfal," and in the introspective and deeply spiritual poem which confessedly ranks the noblest of all his productions, and crowns them all, as indeed it is the top and crown of the whole temple of American poesy,—"The Cathedral." In this American "In Memoriam," how clearly sounds the voice of faith! how decisively he treads upon the firm ground of belief in the Divine Providence! But in the expression he does not strive nor cry. His temperance, as was said of Emerson's reticence on the high matters of inner experience, was "the modesty of spiritual manliness."

The self-revealing quality of his poetry enables us to see that his faith was strengthened by sorrow. Of the life of his affections and friendships but few have the right to speak. Enough is known to heighten our respect for his memory as a man whose domestic qualities made him idolized in the household as husband, father, and friend. Bereavements of the sorest kind often clouded his home-life. But the man of faith submitted his heart to the purifying power of sorrow. And some of the tenderest chords of pathos that ever were touched owe their inspiration to his sad personal experiences. "The First Snowfall" is an exquisite poetic remembrance of his first-born. "The Changeling" cannot be surpassed in the unadorned simplicity of its pathetic expression. Nearly all his poems and ballads that deal with human emotions are glimpses we get of the force of feeling and affection that made up the reality of a strong man's heart.

After "The Cathedral" was written, Mr. Lowell's genius took on a new form of expression for his later thought, — that of public address. The occasions of his public speaking were not numerous, and must have been peculiarly agreeable to him. The speeches partook of the nature of occasional addresses upon academic and literary themes. He generally spoke with careful preparation; hence his oral discourse carried much of the charm of thought, richness of coloring and illustration, and felicity of phrase, that marked his literary style. Still he was better as a writer than a speaker. There is more freedom of expression, less of conscious prudence and the reserves of social tact, in his essays than in his speeches. In the addresses delivered in England it is easy to see that it is the well-balanced diplomat and the careful literary critic that is speaking; and yet the note of sincerity is never lacking. He always said what he thought; not perhaps all he thought, but never anything he did not think. But in his great Harvard oration, spoken at the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Harvard University, he evidently assumed that he was amongst sympathetic friends, and gave himself full liberty of speech. His oratorical delivery was the perfect expression of a perfect gentlemanhood. It had the "temperance which gave it smoothness." His voice, which was a most agreeable baritone in its musical register, was used in the quiet, earnest modulations of a cultivated man addressing a group of interested friends. He rarely made a gesture. His was not the temperament that could face a mob, like Wendell Phillips; but he could furnish that matchless orator with poetic sentiments which often winged the piercing darts of his eloquence. His was not the gift of commanding promiscuous assemblies, which is the splendid possession of his friend, George William Curtis. Lowell had little of the essentially popular fibre. He was a public speaker of the finished academic and after-dinner sort, rather than an orator in the amplest sense of the term. He needed the power to rise into the eloquence of passionate and ringing speech to be quite perfect as an orator.

After the publication of "Democracy, and Other Addresses," Lowell lived in well-earned retirement at Cambridge. The seventy-two years of his life were closed at "Elmwood," his ancestral home, where, on the eighty-seventh anniversary of Washington's birth, February 22, 1819, his life was begun. He was stricken down, in the very fullness of his powers, anticipating fresh efforts in his chosen field of labor, and actually engaged upon a "Life of Nathaniel Hawthorne," which he was preparing for the series of "American Men of Letters." It is to be devoutly hoped that the work was sufficiently near completion to warrant its publication. Lowell's literary portrait and critical estimate of the genius of the wonderful romancer would enrich the language, be a priceless boon to American literature, and add a new lustre to his own brilliant reputation. He is made closer the friend of our spirits by death.

He will be remembered for many a long year by what is best and greatest amongst his countrymen. The verdict on such a man can be passed only by a judgment as clear, calm, and yet as sympathetic as his own, and by a pen as skillful as his. If impartiality of judgment be possible to intimate friendship, we are confident that Professor Charles Eliot Norton is amply equipped for the service which the friends and admirers of Lowell so earnestly desire to see rendered.

THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

A GENERAL VIEW OF MISSIONS. SECOND SERIES.

X. INDIA (*continued*).

SIR WILLIAM HUNTER, than whom no higher authority can be cited for India, says, as quoted in the "*Missionary Herald*" for January, 1890, in speaking of the missionary work in India: "It has been rich in results in the past, and it is fraught with incalculable blessings in the future." "The Indian native Protestants have now grown into an Indian native Protestant church. They have their own pastors, numbering 575 men, ordained in one body or another of the ministry. They have also a body of 2,856 qualified lay preachers, born in the country, educated in the country, working in the country for the welfare of their own countrymen. The native Protestant church in India has ceased to be an exotic, and if the English were driven out to-morrow, they would leave a Protestant native church behind them. When the Protestant Christians in India numbered about half a million, there were nearly 200,000 pupils in Protestant mission schools. This is an immensely significant fact; significant of missionary zeal in the present, but still more significant of Christian influence in the future."

Sir William guardedly commends "ascetic missions," defining them simply as a way of "quiet self-denial." There are hundreds of thousands, he says, who will be best reached by this method, while those who are best reached by the blessed influences of the Christian family are counted by the million.

A proposal, in Bombay, to change the time of the mail steamer for England to Sunday called out a great demonstration against it. "The Town Hall," says the "*Herald*," "was packed to overflowing by representative Christians, Jews, Parsees, Mohammedans, and Hindus. It was a grand gathering, and men of all nationalities and of nearly all faiths uttered in the strongest language their feeling in reference to the value of the Christian Sabbath. A Parsee lawyer spoke of the Sabbath as 'an institution which has worked itself into the common life of the city, and which contributes in no small measure to the preservation of its welfare.' He described it as 'the respectable, the beneficent, the humane Sunday of England.' A Hindu gentleman said: 'I say that by the introduction of a Christian government into India we were taught one of the grandest of Christian virtues, and it was the observance of Sunday as a day of rest.' A Mussulman, though referring to Friday as the Mussulman's sacred day, yet strongly defended the observance of Sun-

day. The writer in 'The Harvest Field' may well speak of this movement as a sign of the leavening influence of Christianity in India."

The same number of the "Missionary Herald" quotes from a letter of a Brahmin student of a mission school, addressed to a Hindu newspaper, which had contemptuously denied that Christianity was making any real impression even on the minds of such pupils. He says: "If it is true that we are not at all impressed by the truths of this religion, then what is the import of the words: 'If need be, close the high schools, but don't allow them to come under the control of the missionaries'? What is the reason for establishing the new sects of the Brahmo-Somaj and Prarthana-Somaj? The leaders of these sects have no conception of the extent to which we have been impressed by Christianity.

"I mention a few points in which this influence may be seen. We do not believe in our senseless rules about ceremonial purity. Looking on festivals as mere holidays, we take no pains to observe them religiously. We are convinced that ablutions and pilgrimages can afford no relief to the sin-burdened. We think there should be spiritual union with God. Knowing that there is salvation only through the one *sinless* Saviour, we long to accept him, and with this in mind we offer prayer in secret to him, morning and evening. If this is not 'being impressed,' what is it?

"But how hard it is to make a public profession! Not only must we leave father, mother, relatives, and loved friends, but they all become our bitter enemies, as though we were guilty of some terrible crime. To escape this really needless suffering, although we do not embrace this religion openly, still, not doing so, we endure mental agonies, night and day. When this suffering becomes unbearable, feeling that something is better than nothing, we are impelled to join the Prarthana-Somaj (The Prayer-Somaj), and to-day there is a considerable number of such students belonging to that body. Later on, however, feeling that these sects are not of God, but devised merely with a view to meet the present state of things, we weary of them. Then, indeed, our condition is a sad one."

The following from Mr. Jones, of Madura, reported in the "Missionary Herald," illustrates that singular want of mutual coherence between belief and action, and that singular indifference to consistency of belief itself, in the Hindu character, to which we referred in our last article, and which is an almost fatal obstacle to the wide extension of the gospel in India: "Our catechists have just been on the itineracy, and report a great deal of interest in the truth among the villagers. Would that it worked so mightily among them as to lead them entirely to Christ for salvation! There are so many people all around us who are on the very threshold of a confession of Christ, who are 'almost persuaded,' and yet who are willing to stay in that state year in and year out, and pride themselves even on their indecision, that it is at times very discouraging. The capacity of a native to be convinced of the truth is boundless; but the remoteness between that state and conviction or conversion is extraordinary. I often wonder whether any other people on earth could, with such equanimity as the Hindus, seriously and sincerely affirm that Christianity is the true religion, and that it will ultimately prevail, and yet at the same time manifest such devotion to their old religion. I have unbounded faith in the ultimate and not remote Christianizing of this whole people, but it must be accompanied, if not preceded, by a great transformation in the mental fabric and moral attitude of the people towards truth in general and in their relationship to the same."

The following account of the ordination of a native pastor, in the Madura Mission, illustrates, as the "Herald" remarks, the difference between points of principle, as to which a missionary is bound to be inflexible, and points of mere usage, as to which he can hardly be too flexible, however they may jar on his own sense of good taste. "The examination was very satisfactory. The next morning the services were held ordaining him. As Brother Jones had to return to Madura, I was the only missionary present. The people wished to escort us through the village, so the pastor-elect and myself rode in the carriage, and followed the noisy native band and the company of Christians. The space in front of the church was beautifully adorned with a long, covered way made of plantain-trees, and ornamented and roofed with cocoanut leaves and mango leaves. Before the services commenced, a procession of the leading church-members marched in, to present their pastor-elect with a long, purple robe, which he put on in the presence of the audience. After the services were concluded, sandal-paste and rose-water were passed around for each to dip his fingers; wreaths and limes were presented, and a procession escorted the new pastor to his house, where he was enthroned in a chair, while the others sat on a raised floor."

The "Missionary Herald" for January, 1891, remarks: "Christians in this land do not apprehend what fearful trials most Hindus must pass through in forsaking their own religion and entering the Christian church. It would be comparatively easy to bear physical tortures, if these were all, but in most cases methods are employed to prevent the converts from confessing their faith which would appeal strongly to their better feelings; they must literally forsake father and mother for Christ's sake. We find in 'The Missionary Herald' of the English Baptist Society a touching description of the trials which he underwent, given by a young Hindu who had received Christian baptism: 'I fear I cannot convey to you any idea of what my mourning mother is doing. She scarcely eats at all. During these five or six days my sister has been reduced almost to a skeleton. Whenever I think of or look at her, my heart nearly breaks. When I think that they are suffering so much mental agony for me, I pray to God, and find consolation in the thought that God and truth are the cause of this lamentation. Last evening I went to bed after prayer. In a little while my sister called to me to have my supper. I was introduced to a scene which must remain indelibly impressed upon my memory as long as I live. My mother was lying prostrated on a bed overwhelmed with grief. Now and then she was sighing. Beside me was my elder brother, weeping like a tender-hearted woman. He wept, and wept, and wept till I could no longer bear to remain there. When I was about to leave, my brother told me to remain for a little. Then he described the piteous condition of our family, . . . and he pleaded, 'My dear brother, I have done much to give you an education, scanty though it is. I will do more if you retain caste. I am willing to sell the little patrimony (on which the subsistence of our family depends) to provide for your expenses required to prosecute your studies. Take now as large a sum of money as is required, but grant me only this petition, preserve the life of mother, who will certainly pine away to death in your absence. Worship whom you will, but retain caste.' I could bear these things no longer; so, beseeching them to take food, I retired to pray. . . . When I asked my Lord whether I should do what my friends tell me, a clear 'No' came, accompanied by the tender command 'Fol-

low Me.' I clearly saw that dear and affectionate friends on earth must be forsaken, if necessary, in order that one may be 'rich towards God.' But this is a truth very difficult. I do not fear either kind of persecution. If the whole world stands against me, I am ready to be crushed for Him who died for us while we were sinners. Lord, I am thine forevermore.' At the close of his letter he says: 'I can do nothing for my mother, but pray that she may be led to see the blessedness of the course I have taken. All of you constantly pray for me and my friends. I don't know how to express my gratitude. Your humble brother in Christ Jesus.'

The "Herald" for February, 1891, has a very valuable translation, by C. W. Clarke, of a paper from the "Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift," by William Digner, on "The Elements of Missionary Preaching in India." Speaking of redemption, he shows that Hinduism treats it as consisting essentially in the abolition of individuality. "It is declared that the Deity is in a state partly of dream, partly of wakeful consciousness. Hence arises the deceptive phenomenon of many individuals, and hence all the evil in the world. The only state worthy of the Deity was that of the deepest, dreamless sleep, in which pure Being, pure Reason, pure Blessedness are closely united in undisturbed rest to an absolute, impersonal 'Source of Light.' This conception of salvation is shared by all classes in India at the present time. However their writings may teem with material pictures of the joys of heaven and the pains of hell, there ever remains the final redemption to be gained by sinking into the ocean of Deity.

"That is the final outcome of the wisdom of India. In contrast to it none can fail to recognize the superiority of the Christian conception of salvation. This, all agree, is attainment of the kingdom of God, no abstract conception, but a living fact, a community of personal beings whose very name declares its ethical character. This was Christ's message. He brought the kingdom of God, realized it in himself, and to it sought to bring mankind. . . .

"Now, as to points of similarity and of difference, it is easy to show that in both religions is the idea, grounded in the very nature of man, of salvation, of union of mankind with God. The Hindu religion bears the strongest possible witness that the human spirit is created for communion with God, and can never find rest till it finds it in God. But here the likeness of the two systems ceases, and the superiority of Christianity appears. Hinduism secures rest in God at the cost of utter loss of personal being, which is declared by some to be a delusion, by others a deterioration of the Deity. This is the first weak point in Hinduism. In contrast, Christianity neither denies the existence of evil nor attributes it to the Deity, but, recognizing the reality of the created individual and of sin, offers a means of relief which preserves individuality while redeeming from sin and evil. Again, the Hindu deity, being without personal consciousness, has no ethical characteristics, so that in the conception of salvation the ethical element of release from sin and guilt is lost beneath the physical or metaphysical element of destruction of personal consciousness. Such an idea of salvation affords no motive to moral action, or to anything more than uncomplaining acquiescence in a dark fate. The life of the people expresses this despair. Their moral life is paralyzed and perverted to corruption. On the other hand, we can prove both by present experience and by history that Christianity brings a

moral regeneration of the individual, and is a constant power for the moral invigoration of nations. This is an especially strong point with those classes that have lately been aroused by European influence to new intellectual and moral activity. If this movement is to be sustained, they must be shown a 'highest good' which shall include both the highest moral ideal and the highest moral power.

"Finally, to the unperverted human understanding, the purely physical element in the Hindu salvation is not a good to be desired. Despite the logic of the philosophers, the missionary has the assent of his audience when he says, 'You do not wish to be blown out like a light,' while they recognize the fact that the gospel salvation, the communion of the personal life with the personal God, is a true good, meeting the needs of the human soul. All admit that, if facts are as we say, we have truth and final victory on our side. Many, who thought they had long done with Christianity, have been led by such considerations as these to new investigation of its claims."

It has been lately remarked by the Rev. Gilbert Reid, of Northern China, that China is like the Roman Empire in one important respect, namely, that the country districts are dependent on the cities, and the cities of a lower rank on those of a higher rank, in an ascending scale. This is one of the reasons why Mr. Reid, although a Presbyterian, favors the extension of episcopacy, and this, apparently, in its metropolitan gradations, since this polity, moulded by a similar form of civil life, would, he judges, be eminently congruous to China. India, on the other hand, as the "Missionary Herald" remarks, is "characteristically a land of villages and hamlets; its population has not yet become urban; there is no city of 1,000,000 in all the Asiatic peninsula. There are 93 cities not exceeding 30,000 and hundreds of towns of 5,000. The vast majority of the 280,000,000 dwell in rural hamlets." Nor is it a vast agglomeration of connected, but a vast mass of isolated villages. It should seem, then, that missionary methods and expectations must be very different from those of the Mediterranean world, where, the cities once gained, the *pagani*, "the people of the communes," were left to assimilate themselves at their leisure. Indian methods of evangelization appear likely to be slower and more laborious, and perhaps thereby all the more complete. "The resurgent heathenism" of European unbelief in our own day does not, indeed, seem to have much connection with the too carelessly treated *pagani* and *heathmen*. But slighted work always avenges itself in some way. Even in England, Southey remarks, the country people had once been Catholic, and then became Protestant, but, before the rise of the Wesleys, had never been Christian. India seems to be so arranged as to insist on much more thorough-going work.

The "Church Missionary Intelligencer" for January, 1890, remarks: "Thirty-nine of the Protestant missionaries in Madras, representing nine different societies, have addressed an 'Open Letter to the Churches.' Observing with thankfulness the increasing interest on the part of the home churches in the Indian mission-field, they desire by this letter to supply such information regarding the conditions amid which missionary work is carried on, and the elements with which Christianity is now in conflict, as will render both the sympathy and the criticisms of home friends more intelligent, and consequently more effectual. In a few graphic sentences are described in succession the South Indian mission-field; modern Hinduism, both as a popular religion and as a philosophical

system; the present condition of the people; and the various missionary agencies. The effects of popular Hinduism are summed up in these words: 'It desecrates the treasures of earth, it degrades the intellect and genius of man, it demands and destroys the virtue of woman, and dishonors the holy God, and practically shuts Him out of his own world.' We observe with much sadness, and all the more so because recent letters from some of our own South Indian missionaries have convinced us how true the indictment is, the following words regarding the Salvation Army's methods of work:—

"It has swelled its ranks with the converts of other churches, who have not been improved by the transition, and many of them have again returned to their own folds. The whole of its work has been done within areas under process of evangelization by other societies, and only where churches have been planted, and work firmly established by other mission agencies, have Salvation Army agents planted themselves, and then only to exert a disturbing influence on existing churches. By such a course only, unjust and objectionable as it is, has it been possible for the agents of the Army to exist in India. Compelled by their rules to seek local self-support, they have found it easier to exhibit their need, and appeal with success to Christians, than to appeal to Hindus, and in this way they have diverted funds from other Christian work. Only the merest fraction of their support has ever come from non-Christians. Though there are many districts in which, from want of laborers, no missionary work is done, the Army has carefully avoided these. It has been compelled to seek the common necessities of life first of all; so the choice of fields has been determined, not by the spiritual needs of Hindus, but by the material needs of the Army."

In 1875 the Prince of Wales, passing through the extreme southern district of India, called out a demonstration from the native Christians of Tinnevely, under the episcopal care of Bishops Sargent and Caldwell. There were then 1,100 Christian congregations; 54 native clergymen; 60,000 native Christians; 10,378 communicants; 12,315 scholars. In 1889 Prince Albert Victor was the object of a similar demonstration. He found 1,636 congregations; 113 native clergymen; 95,567 native Christians (77,171 baptized); 20,024 communicants; 23,524 scholars.

The "Church Missionary Intelligencer" for March, 1890, has a paper read before the Durham Diocesan Conference by the Rev. H. E. Fox, M. A., Vicar of St. Nicholas, Durham, in which he dwells on one happy result of the missionary work: "The prayer of the Great Head for union amongst his members must be answered. It is answered wherever his life passes into, and is manifested by, his people. Not, as is often assumed, by visible uniformity, for such is not the oneness of the Father with the Son, but in the unity of the Holy Ghost, a fact far deeper and more real than any ecclesiastical or liturgical conformity. Missionary work, more than any other, makes for this happy end. When Christian men meet in front of the armies of the aliens, necessity draws them together. And, more than this, the missionary, of whatever body, is, as a rule, one intensely in earnest, longing rather for the victories of his Master than of his particular church. He has neither time nor heart to quarrel with his brethren. The matters which divide them are as nothing to those which they hold in common. Happily the political dissenter and the exclusive churchman are almost unknown in the mission field. A spirit of charity and brotherly intercourse is found to be possible

there of which we know little here. The voyage throws men together, and mutual prejudices and antipathies which we magnify at home are quietly unshipped and thrown overboard. Every important centre of missionary work in India, and probably elsewhere, has its missionary conference, composed of representatives of all societies, who meet for prayer and consultation, arranging their methods and boundaries so that there shall be no collision or overlapping in the work of each. One of the pleasantest and most profitable meetings I ever attended was a gathering of the Madras Conference under the roof of the venerable bishop. Ephraim shook hands with Judah, and Judah spoke peaceably to Ephraim, without the reserve and constraint which these worthy tribesmen are in the habit of showing towards one another in their own land. I see in this the best hopes for the future of Christendom. If national churches are to arise in India or China or Japan, I do not think it will be by the reproduction of any one of the Western types, but by the fusion of many: could we wish it otherwise? It would indeed be a deplorable case of heredity if the daughters develop the unhappy divisions of their mothers. A Presbyterian missionary of long and wide experience in China told me that he quite expected to see all the various missions in that country at no distant day grouped into two, possibly even into one, comprehensive church. The problem of reunion, at least among Protestants, is nearer solution in the mission field than at home. It is a significant fact that among the warmest advocates of such a reunion have been some of our colonial and missionary bishops. Who can estimate the gain that would come thereby to our spiritual life? The energies dissipated in mutual antagonism would then be conserved for inward development and outward aggression. The great Antichrists of the age would in vain assail a united church. Its possibilities would only be measured by its opportunities. But if that day is ever to come, it will dawn in the East before the West. I expect to see the sunrise of the healing wings on the plains of India or the waters of Japan before it touches the shores of England."

As the Rev. Gilbert Reid thinks the historic Episcopate peculiarly congruous to the constitution and character of China, so possibly it may be as widely unsuited to the state of India. The Church Missionary Society or its organ has somewhere, as we remember, expressed its belief that its missionaries in India will never stickle for the continuance of the Episcopal succession as a condition of union there. There may be as good reason why an Episcopal Church of China and a Presbyterian Church of India should coexist in equal communion, as there was why the Episcopal Church of Smyrna should be in equal communion with the Presbyterian Church of Philippi, whose apostolic character was as fully acknowledged before adopting the Smyrnan polity as afterwards. What redintegrations or resolutions of ancient polities, or what emergence of entirely unexpected types, may take place in the far East, may be safely left to the directing Lord and the animating Spirit.

We remarked in our last paper that the Brahmo-Somaj, which on the whole has been cordial to Christianity, seems now to be more cordial than ever. The following from the "Intelligencer" would certainly lead us to think so: "On November 1st Babu Protap Chundur Muzumdar, the Brahmo leader, who was visiting Lahore, gave a lecture on 'Jesus Christ, the Guide of Indian Youth,' in English. The lecture was the first of a series of fortnightly lectures which will be delivered in the

College Hall through the cold weather, and was well attended, amongst those present being a number of European ladies and gentlemen. In the course of his speech the lecturer laid great stress on the usefulness of the Bible as a text-book, and exhorted the native students to read the precepts of Christ diligently, and adopt them in their daily life. He referred to the greatness of Christendom, and the progress made by the Christian countries in science, etc., as being wholly due to the teachings of the Bible. The native student, he said, could find no better text-book than the Bible for morality, literature, philosophy, or any other branch of learning."

The Rev. F. Bower, of Cochin, South India, writes in the "Intelligencer:" "A short time ago I was sent for by a Namboorie Brahmin, as he wished to know more about Christianity. He also asked questions concerning Buddhism, Mohammedanism, and Judaism. He was an elderly man, and one of the most intelligent and gentlemanly Namboorie Brahmins I ever conversed with, though very infirm in body and almost blind. He appeared to be really anxious to know the truth, and wanted my opinion as to the method of expiating sin. Being well acquainted with their sacrificial system contained in the Rig Veda, he readily understood the scheme of redemption. I read to him in Malayalam several passages of the Epistle to the Hebrews, on the subject of sacrifice, to which he listened most attentively. On hearing that Christianity was an experimental religion, and one which had more to do with the heart than the head, he asked me to relate my experience, for which I was most thankful. When I spoke of the joy and peace which flowed into my soul as soon as I believed with the heart in Christ as my Saviour, the poor old gentleman appeared to be greatly impressed. He confessed that he had no real peace of mind, and admitted that his future was dark and uncertain. Being on the borders of eternity, he as much as acknowledged to me, in the presence of several angry-looking Sudras, that he was about to take a leap in the dark. I could not help feeling extremely sorry for the poor old man, and prayed that the words which had been read and spoken might be the means of leading him to the Redeemer, in whom alone he could find rest for his weary soul."

In our last paper we referred to the ancient Syrian Church of Travancore. It appears that of the Christian population of Travancore (and Cochin), being about one fifth of the whole population, the Syrian Church has 290,000 members; there are 150,000 Roman Catholics; and 60,000 Protestants, mostly attached to the London Missionary Society. In this native kingdom, therefore, Christianity is a stronger force than anywhere else in India, although it is hardly aggressive except in its Protestant form. The suggestion in our last paper, that the victorious metropolitan of the Syrian Church, Mar Dionysius, although representing the unprogressive party, was not actively hostile to Protestantism, is confirmed by the fact that he has given a handsome donation to the Anglican college, which is under control of the Evangelicals. Indeed, six young clergymen of the Dionysian party are now studying theology under Bishop Hodges, with the approbation of their metropolitan.

The energy of opposition to missions which is rising in some parts of India, especially in the Northwest, in the Punjab and Sindh, appears in the following letter from Miss Phillips, an English zenana missionary. She writes from Peshawar: "You know perhaps what a very bigoted city this is. The fanaticism of the people is continually fanned by

Mullahs (Mohammedan priests). But now the opposition is so organized and so thorough that, looked at from a human point of view, the work must fall through. Princes of the royal family of Cabul, poor men, merchants, Hindus, and Mohammedans, all are united in a common cause. 'What if two or three men are hanged,' was said the other day, 'they will be martyrs! Whatever happens, the Mem Sahibs (lady missionaries) shall be turned out of the city, and prevented from corrupting our wives and children!'" The threat of excommunication, enforced by a house-to-house visitation of the Moslem families, has brought down the number of zenana pupils to one third of what it lately was, with a probability of soon losing all. Still later reports, however, show a considerable abatement of opposition, and a serious falling-out among the Moslem antagonists. The government, moreover, has signified its disapprobation of combinations which have so much the character of boycotting conspiracies. Notwithstanding such opposition in the Northwest, the "Gleaner," quoted in the "Intelligencer," remarks that, in Calcutta at least, the stream of converts is, though quiet, so steady that baptisms are now scarcely mentioned outside of the immediate circle of the baptized.

An influential Christian lady of Madras, Mrs. Sattianadhan, has just died, who represented Indian Protestant Christianity of the fourth generation. Her husband was a convert from heathenism. Before there is anything like a rush of conversions in India, Protestant Christianity is likely to have gained a broad basis of hereditary stability and spiritual development. Very possibly our Lutheran brethren around Tranquebar can boast of more than the fourth generation of Protestant Christians.

The "Hindu," a Madras paper, representing the native religion, remarks: "The progress of education among the girls of the native Christian community, and the absence of caste restrictions among them, will eventually give them an advantage which no amount of intellectual precocity can compensate the Brahmins for. We recently approved of the statement of a Bombay writer that the social eminence which the Parsis so deservedly enjoy at the present moment was due to these two causes, namely, their women are well educated, and they are bound by no restrictions of caste. These two advantages slowly make themselves felt among our native Christian brethren, and it is probable they will soon be the Parsis of Southern India; they will furnish the most distinguished public servants, barristers, merchants, and citizens among the various classes of the native community."

The Free Church deputation remarks on one profoundly important distinction between the higher castes, from Brahmins to Sudras, and what it calls "the depressed castes." The precise definition of these latter we have not been able to catch, for the missionaries talk of them with a provoking evasiveness, forgetting that we cannot understand without being instructed. We gather, however, that these "depressed castes" are not Pariahs, entirely without social and religious acknowledgment or privilege, but that they consist of classes which have been reclaimed from the lower and ruder aboriginal religions in later times, after the great ancient castes had been already constituted. Whatever the precise difference between them may be, Messrs. Lindsay and Daly remark that, while in the upper castes a convert is thrown right out, and the wall of excommunication closes up behind him, in the "depressed castes" the family instinct is much stronger than the instinct of caste; and a single

convert of any weight will often, through the ramifications of blood and marriage, bring after him a great faction of his caste; while even between the Christian and the Hindu fragments it should appear there is no such definitive division, but that additional sections, from time to time, are likely to fall away from heathenism. In other words, conversions in the upper castes are individual; in the lower, largely corporate. These gentlemen remark, however, that the strong family feeling of the Hindus shows decided signs, even in the upper castes, of gathering strength against the compression of this tremendous institute. When this reaction of the family against the caste reaches a certain point of prevalence, it is likely to be the harbinger of disintegration to the latter.

It should be noted that higher and lower *castes* in India are by no means identical with higher and lower *classes*. Caste is a religious, class a social distinction. Thus, a wealthy and highly educated Sudra considers himself, and is universally considered, as standing vastly higher in society than a poor and ignorant Brahmin, who, indeed, may be his clerk, or even his cook. Yet he never dreams of usurping the sacerdotal prerogatives of his Brahmin servant, who is religiously as much his superior as he is socially his inferior, just as, for instance, at a communion in the Church of England, the most insignificant peasant that chances to be in deacon's orders receives the sacred elements before the queen. An unconscious confusion of class and caste is continually blurring our mental pictures of Hindu society, and causing us to misinterpret the force of the influences that are making for or against the elder order. It is doubtful whether the Brahmins themselves are any more capable of uniting against the progress of Christianity than any other caste; for besides being striven along the whole scale of social position, and dispersed over an almost continental region, they are subdivided again into a number of lesser castes, and are rent apart by sectarian antipathies more embittered than almost anything known in Christendom. A Hindu, being once pressed to say in what the unity, not of Hindu usage, but of Hindu doctrine, lay, replied: "We differ in everything else, but we universally agree in two points, that the cow is to be worshiped, and that woman is to be utterly condemned." Indeed, we have seen it mentioned as a singularity of a small sect in Lower India (and this not so much a Hindu sect as a dissent from Hinduism), that their men return the salutations of the women.

On the whole, notwithstanding a certain pause in evangelizing work in India for reflection and readjustment, and notwithstanding the checks of native reluctance or even of angry opposition, the general impression made upon the mind of India is probably not ill-expressed by the leader of the Brahmo-Somaj when he spoke of "the great army of missionaries under their invincible captain Jesus Christ."

Buddhism, once so mighty in its native India, but expelled from it as much as a thousand years ago, still remains upon its skirts in Lesser Thibet and Nepaul, in Farther India, and in Ceylon. But nowhere, in these rigorously Buddhist countries, is there any great advance of the gospel. Compared with Atheism and Annihilation, even the Hindu doctrine of Absorption into Dreamless Deity has in it something positive and hopeful. Except in Nepaul, where a theistic tendency has established itself, the deadly chill of Buddhism appears in the environs of India to be very slightly tempered by any concessions to the human heart, and in Ceylon it can hardly be said to be tempered at all. "An-

nihilation is our Salvation," is the proudly contemptuous reply with which Cingalese Buddhism meets "the good tidings of great joy." In Burma, it is true, the American Baptists, notwithstanding certain importunate intrusions, are still going on gathering numerous converts of gratifying steadfastness and zeal. But these are still mainly gathered from among the Karens, who are not Buddhists, and in whom a Messianic longing already awaited the gospel message. In Lesser Thibet, it is true, the Moravian brethren have for forty years maintained a mission, and gathered a little body of Christians. They are held in the highest honor among the whole population, and, whenever they visit the Buddhist monasteries, are received by the lamas with such deafening acclamations of their huge silver trumpets as to lead them sometimes to beg for a respite. But as yet, as a Buddhist abbot has told them, the main visible result of their labors is, that they have given Buddhism a resurrection by reviving the general religious sense. Still, if they are conceded to be so influential as this, they may well be hopeful, inasmuch as the religious sense, once thoroughly awakened by Christianity, will soon find itself intolerably straitened and contradicted by Buddhist pessimism. The exuberant jollity of the Tibetan temperament, it is true, extracts out of this all the crumbs of consolation it offers, while the unrestrained immorality of the Tibetans frankly contradicts the precepts of both religions alike. But the eminent traveler, Mrs. Isabella Bird Bishop, says that the Moravian converts are "quality, if not quantity," and gives her emphatic judgment against abandoning this Himalayan outpost of Christianity.

In Netherlands India, we pass alike beyond Hinduism and Buddhism, and come upon unorganized heathenism of the lower sort, which, however, is being rapidly absorbed by Mohammedanism, which seems here to be distinguished in an extraordinary degree by the intense spiritual pride and almost unbounded influence of the Hadjis, that is, the pilgrims returned from Mecca. The Dutch government long encouraged Moslem and discouraged Christian missions. But now it is reaping as it has sown in the growing disaffection which goes with the advancing wave of Mohammedan proselytism, and at last it is turning in dismay to the Christians, and begging them in all haste to save and reclaim what may be saved and reclaimed. In the northern arm of Celebes, the Minahassa, Christian missions are doing an admirable work, and have gathered in about 100,000 converts. In the great island of Sumatra, the Rhenish Missionary Society, which had about 12,000 converts previously, reports that the last year has been more highly blessed than any earlier one, there having been many hundred additional baptisms. The heathen Battas have been so overjoyed that the Dutch government has at length consented to trust them with the lives of the missionaries, that they, of their own motion, have declared themselves Netherlands subjects. The minds of the people have been profoundly impressed by the fact that a considerable district in the interior of the island has become a Christian country. The Christians are thus enabled to meet what we should judge to have been a previous contention of the Mohammedans, that, whatever the gospel might do for individuals, Islam alone was fitted to be the religion of a land. It is worthy of note, in view of the fanaticism of East Indian Mohammedanism, that about half the Christians of Sumatra have been gathered from among its adherents. Sir William Hunter, on learning this fact at the London Missionary Conference, declared that it was one of the most profoundly important and encouraging facts respecting Mohammedanism that he had ever come to know.

What effect the sudden withdrawal of state acknowledgment will ultimately have upon Buddhism in Burma, remains to be seen. But of the three great religions of the East Indies, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam, Hinduism, by far the most ancient, and by far the most numerous, and by far the most profound, appears destined to yield first to the conquering Cross.

Charles C. Starbuck.

ANDOVER.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY. A Sketch of the Progress of Thought from Old Testament to New Testament. By CRAWFORD HOWELL TOY, Professor in Harvard University. Boston: Little, Brown and Co. 1890. 8vo, pp. xviii, 456.

It was John Stuart Mill, if I mistake not, who being asked by an angry opponent whether he would concede that two and two make four, replied that he must first know what use would be made of the concession. The opposition manifested to some of the plainest conclusions of modern Biblical science can be accounted for only on the ground of fear lest the concessions should be put to a wrong use. This fear will no doubt be stimulated rather than allayed by the book before us. Professor Toy is in a sense the coryphæus of the higher criticism in this country. In this volume he uses its data in a manner not at all calculated to defend "the views commonly held by the church." But not to prejudge the case, let me give an outline of the book.

The Introduction is on the general laws of the advance from national to universal religions. "The rise of Christianity out of Judaism is a fact which, though of enormous significance, is yet in conformity with a well-defined law of human progress," is the first sentence. Religion is developed in society, and may be regarded, therefore (like language and ethics), as a branch of sociology. The growth of society is subject to laws of growth. Religion will be subject to these laws. The general conditions under which religious progress has been made are the same as those which control the formation of nations, and those which determine progress within the nation. "A religion in the better sense of the term is the organized product of a national thought concerning man's relation to the divine" (p. 7). Historically, religions have generally grown up by aggregation, well-known examples being the pantheons of Egypt, Babylonia, and Greece. Even the so-called universal religions are subject to this law. "In Islam we have a mixture of ideas from three sources, — the old Arabian religion, the Jewish, and the Christian. Christianity has blended with the religious and moral ideas of the New Testament much un-Jewish European thought. The Judaism of the two or three centuries just preceding the beginning of our era combined Hebrew and Greek conceptions. Wherever there is intimate intellectual intercourse between nations, this larger religious syncretism must follow" (p. 11). Besides this law of external growth, religion shares the internal growth of society, being constantly modified by changes in science, art, and ethics. Its advance will be in accordance with the general character of

social progress. The conclusion of the Introduction is made by a brief mention of the universal religions which illustrate the law, — Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam. The author considers, also, some "stunted and arrested growths," as Stoicism, Confucianism, the religions of Egypt and Persia.

The proper theme of the book is the development of religious thought from Old Testament to New Testament. The proper starting point is the time of Ezra. At this time the religion of Israel had attained its full growth. The nation had reached a practical monotheism; it had worked out a reasonably sound and satisfactory theory of practical social ethics; and the organization of public worship in the temple was substantially the same as in New Testament times. "It is at this point that we begin our study. We are to trace the history of the Jewish religious ideas from the fifth century on, and to follow them into the New Testament times" (p. 50). The first inquiry concerns the sources of our knowledge, that is, the literature of the period. Professor Toy accepts the prevailing critical theory as to the date of the Law, though he recognizes the fact that "the divine instruction (*tora*) had been gathering volume for centuries, and the national feeling had been moving toward the conviction that this instruction was its organic law" (p. 49). He also accepts the late date of Zechariah ix.-xiv. and Joel. He places Jonah, Esther, Judith, and Tobit together, between 250 and 150 B. C., and a little later, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus, though "the book of Proverbs is no doubt the result of numerous collections made at different times." Further, "the theology and the historical conditions of the great body of the songs of our Psalter indicate the Greek period as the time of their composition" (p. 61). The book of Daniel is put, of course, about B. C. 164, and the book of Enoch not much later. With these must be classed the Sibylline Oracles, the Assumption of Moses, the Book of Jubilees, and the books ordinarily known as Apocrypha of the Old Testament.

The doctrinal development, as shown in this literature, passing on into the New Testament, is considered under the heads: God, Subordinate Supernatural Beings, Man (including Sin and Righteousness), Ethics, the Kingdom of God, Eschatology, and the Relation of Jesus to Christianity. The longest chapter is the one on Man. These chapters are so full of matter that it is extremely difficult to compress them. Perhaps the outline of a single subject will give an idea of the author's method. Under the rubric Righteousness he proceeds as follows: —

Old Testament Conception.

Old Testament conception of moral goodness: prophetic standard.
Nomism.

Succeeding Development of the Idea of Righteousness.

Synagogues (origin and influence).
Parties (Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, and Zealots).
The Sanhedrin (legal schools).

New Testament Conception.

Teaching of Jesus (spiritual character of his nomism).
Paul's doctrine of imputed righteousness (Old Testament basis: doctrine of faith).
Opposition to Paul's Apparent Antinomianism.
Subsequent History of the Idea in the New Testament.
The Insufficiency of the Jewish National Nomism.
Contrast between the Outward Method of attaining Righteousness . . .
and the Inward Method.

There is clearly room for a treatise on every one of these points. The limits proper to a review will not allow detailed discussion. I will mention a few points of general interest.

The author does not find an entirely consistent Biblical psychology. He does not accept trichotomy as the doctrine of the New Testament, though he modifies this so far as to say: "It is true that Paul employs the terms *spirit* and *spiritual* in a peculiar way to express the regenerate nature, — the soul of man after a new life has been breathed into it by the divine spirit. It is a distinction which seems to be confined in the New Testament to him and his school" (p. 180).

The author recognizes the practical character of the New Testament revelation: "The characteristic of the New Testament teaching is its intense conception of sin as the one great evil in the world, as the central fact of life, around which range themselves all the powers of heaven, earth, and hell. All the manifestations of God in history look finally to the annihilation of this malignant power of the human soul" (p. 220).

He has a high idea of the prophetic teaching: "For the old mechanical idea that the Deity was appeased by a gift, the prophets desired to substitute the conviction of the necessity for repentance and reformation. This protest of the prophets represents a most important advance in the ethical conception of sin and the deliverance from sin" (p. 221).

He emphasizes the originality of Jesus: "It was a profound spiritual instinct of Jesus which led him to make it [the idea of the Fatherhood of God] the central point of his theistic teaching. He discerned its dominant relation to other sides of the conception of God; he infused into it the warmth and coloring of human feeling and the practicalness of everyday life, and therefore he is to be regarded in a true sense as its author" (p. 86). "The very conception of God as Father implies a tenderness of sympathy and a spirituality of relation which involved a new departure in religion" (p. 269). "In a few words Jesus has comprised all that is essential in moral principle, and held it up as the one necessary condition of perfected human society. Even where he does not offer direct solutions of social-moral questions which have arisen since his time, he furnishes the principles which contain the solution" (p. 341, compare pp. 417, 435).

As a consequence, he gives Christianity the highest place among religions: "Christianity, starting from the national Judaism, found itself forced . . . to abandon the merely national point of view, and to regard divine worship and the divine presence as divorced from human limitations. This divorcement was best expressed in the language of the time by the declaration that God was [?] a spirit, — a designation which ascribed to him the sum-total of the highest side of existence. The idea, once announced, became a possession for mankind destined to be fruitful of best results. It has not always retained its purity, but it has never completely faded from men's minds; and it is to early Christianity that we owe its definite formulation and its establishment as an element of human life" (p. 89). "Though we know of no religion that is actually universal, it is "difficult to see why Christianity in its simplest New Testament form should not prove universally acceptable" (p. 36).

Nevertheless, the author's point of view is naturalistic: "Religion must be treated as a product of human thought. For, supposing a supernatural intervention for the communication of truth, it must, in order to be successful, conform to human conditions and have a real genesis in

man's mind" (p. 1). The Messianic hope was "a *natural*¹ product of the conviction of Yahwe's care for Israel" (p. 49). "The gospel accounts which ascribe miraculous powers to him [Jesus] may be explained as the product of reverent tradition" (p. 125). "How he [Paul] came to his special view it is impossible to say with definiteness. It was most likely an intuition, — an idea that burst up in his soul out of the mass of material over which he had been brooding; he describes it as a revelation" (p. 274). "The belief early established itself that he [Jesus] had risen from the dead, . . . a belief which may be regarded as the *natural* pendant to the conviction that he, though he had died,² was the Messiah" (p. 426). Here is where the issue will be raised. Let us concede every minor point. Let us admit the critical presuppositions of the author. Let us, with him, emphasize the logical connection of Judaism and Christianity, and the orderly development of one from the other. Let us concede the influence of Greek thought upon the New Testament writers. The question still remains, Do we still recognize God in this process? The originality of Jesus, — was it simply a talent for religion, or was it in truth God manifest in the flesh? On this point our author leaves us in doubt. Perhaps he will say this is a matter of personal concern, and that in a treatise on the science of religion he has no right to assume anything more of Christianity than of any other religion. But to many of us it seems more of an assumption to take the other position.

Henry Preserved Smith.

LANE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, CINCINNATI, OHIO.

THE CHURCH FOR THE TIMES. A Series of Sermons. By WILLIAM FREDERIC FABER. Pp. 81. Westfield, N. Y. : The Lakeside Press. 1891. 25 cents.

The author of these sermons is pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Westfield, N. Y. Their subjects are : The Church's Faith ; the Church's Worship ; the Divine Church ; the Church's Mission ; the Church's Methods ; the Church's Confidence. The preacher's conception of the church is spiritual and catholic. Alive to all that makes for progress in doctrine, worship, and ministry, he is thoroughly imbued with the historic spirit, and his utterances have a consequent breadth, depth, and weightiness, combined with stimulating power. For the importance of the themes of these discourses, their method, wisdom, and timeliness, we wish that they may have a wide circulation.

Egbert C. Smyth.

THE EXPOSITOR'S BIBLE : the General Epistles of St. James and St. Jude. By Rev. ALFRED PLUMMER, M. A., D. D. New York : A. C. Armstrong & Son.

This is one of the best in this series of popular homilies upon the Scriptures, and combines very skillfully instruction and religious edifica-

¹ The italics here and elsewhere are mine.

² In a note, p. 425, Professor Toy accounts for the noteworthy fact that the disciples retained their faith in Jesus even after his death by the parallel cases in other religions. He seems to overlook the fact that in these cases continued faith in the prophet did not produce the belief that he had risen from the dead.

tion. It is especially happy in its frank and helpful suggestions upon questions now agitating the public mind concerning the infallibility of the Biblical writers and the bearing of New Testament references upon the interpretation of the Old Testament. One cannot but be grateful also for the estimate put upon the Old Testament Apocrypha, and the plea for a better acquaintance with it. The various critical questions concerning the authorship of these epistles, their relation with other parts of the New Testament, and their right to a place in the Canon, are discussed soberly and lucidly. It may be doubted, however, whether the effort to place the *onus probandi* upon one who questions the authenticity of these epistles is quite successful. The fact that, after a considerable period of doubt and divided sentiment, the church finally accepted them as canonical, has its weight, but does not relieve the student from the necessity of testing their right to a place in the Canon with much care and caution. It does not seem to be a very decisive argument.

William H. Ryder.

THE WRITERS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT: THEIR STYLE AND CHARACTERISTICS. By the late Rev. WILLIAM HENRY SIMCOX, M. A. New York: Thomas Whittaker.

This little book is a supplement or continuation of the somewhat larger volume which appeared last year upon the language of the New Testament. It notes especially the peculiarities of the different writers of the New Testament which distinguish them from one another. It is the work of a careful scholar and, though of less value than the book which preceded it, it will assist to the better understanding of the contents of Scripture. The author holds that the internal evidence against the genuineness of Mark xvi. 9-20 is quite decisive, and that the pastoral Epistles are probably written by the apostle. Two useful Appendices fill more than half of the volume, — one noting the affinities in the vocabularies of different New Testament writers, the other, the differences between the Greek of the New Testament and that of other Hellenic and Hellenistic writers.

William H. Ryder.

Japanese Girls and Women. By Alice Mabel Bacon. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company. 1891. Pp. ix, 333. \$1.25. — This gives that intimate view of Japan which can only be given by a woman, and that only in giving knowledge of the interior sex. It goes to the heart.

The book begins with babyhood. One envies Japanese babies and mothers, both for the simplicity and naturalness of baby-clothing. On the other hand, insufficient nourishment, and the singular neglect of milk, breed weakness and disease. The habit of sitting on the legs, begun in infancy, the author shows to be the main cause of Japanese diminutiveness.

The author thinks that Japanese babies inherit better manners than ours, and this native start, especially with girls, is steadily improved upon, giving a most attractive combination of simplicity and dignity. Irresponsibleness, entire dependence, combined with the reception of affection and respect, brings about, says the author, a female character sweet, pure, bright, though with all the depths of the being unstirred. But

marriage closes in upon her, and the bright, happy girl soon becomes "the weary, disheartened woman," looking forward, for her one consolation, to the honor and care which Japan lavishes upon old age.

The old system of education, especially for girls, was all memory and dexterity. The new, the author thinks, lays too heavy a burden on both sexes. The Japanese are too eager and precipitate. "How to give to the young minds the best products of the thought of two such distinct civilizations is a question that is as yet unanswered."

As to divorcees, Japan seems to be just twice as bad as the worst counties of northeastern Ohio,—one divorcee to three marriages in some parts, against one to six. The wife can now sue for a divorce, but, having no right in her children, often remains for their sake. Yet there is much "quiet, undemonstrative," and permanent love. At present, the new education and the old dependence jar harshly. Christian homes alone have a guaranty of happiness in the permanence of the relation and the reverence for the wife. The tyranny of the mother-in-law appears to be much the same as in China. But chivalrous Japan seems to be as destitute of consideration for the weaker sex as burly Germany. The husbands, however, "often become much in love with their sweet, helpful wives, though they do not share with them the greater things of life, the ambitions and hopes of men." Yet women often appear in novels as widely influential, and there have been nine female Mikados. And henceforth it is provided that neither the throne, nor any noble title, or perhaps estate, can pass, except to the son of the legitimate wife. Old age, especially where there are children, brings such honor and attention that Japanese women are always eager to appear fully as old as they are. As with the Irish peasantry, the parents (where it is possible) give over work early, and the children expect, as of course, to support them.

The author explains the rise of the Shogunate, and the recession of the Mikado into ceremonial seclusion for so long, with great distinctness. It was owing to the combined influence of Buddhist meditateness, then very potent with the emperors, and the slow advance of the frontier against the aborigines, requiring rougher service than the semi-monastic court cared to see. Therefore the palace became the seat of elegant literature and of general culture, of which the noblewomen were the especial bearers, by their quick national instinct keeping Japan from being submerged by Chinese ways. Wealth and luxury gathered around the Shogun, high-bred refinement around the Mikado.

One most extraordinary and most painful peculiarity of Japanese morality is remarked on by the author. The Japanese women are thoroughly pure in their instincts, but hitherto the great ideal has been that of unbounded devotion to superiors, so that a woman who surrendered her person for the support of her husband, or parents, or husband's lord, was esteemed a heroine. Christian teachings and the decline of feudality are obliterating this dreadful exaggeration of self-devotion. But all that is permanently noble in the chivalry of the samurai still subsists, above all in their women. And as the necessities of existence have sent the samurai down through the whole lower range of society, they are raising the standards of this. The peasant women, helping in the family support, have much the same respect and influence as farmers' wives among us. Among the servants, male and female, the curious mixture of deference and freedom, faithfulness and self-will, seems to be much like the style of old-fashioned servants in Scotland, though modified by the

manners of a much politer nation. And, as in all feudal countries, the retainers of the high are themselves almost noble among the humble.

The peculiar charm of Japan, of course, is redoubled in this book, with its mixture of searching criticism and kindly and hopeful sympathy.

As it is in Heaven. By Lucy Larcom. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company. 1891. Pp. vi, 156. \$1.00. — The intention of this excellent little book, as the author remarks, is spiritual rather than literary. It includes large extracts, especially from E. H. Sears, J. H. Thom, and George MacDonald. It does not consist of speculations, but of such judgments concerning heaven as appear to be essentially involved in the words of promise and the premises of faith. Heaven *is*, not merely *will be*. It does not need to be *brought near*, but to be *unveiled*. The humble shall find the same familiar sunshine in which they walked below, though serener and clearer. The unloving would find darkness in the blaze of the Great White Throne. Nor can the rest of heaven be an idle rest. It must always be an active rest of ministering love, whatever the forms of it may be. And "the beauty and the glory of the immortal life is that it is an eternal entering in."

The Bohlén Lectures, 1890. — *The General Ecclesiastical Constitution of the American Church.* Its History and Rationale. By William Stevens Perry, Bishop of Iowa. Delivered in the Church of the Holy Trinity, Philadelphia, in April and May, 1890. New York: Thomas Whitaker, 2 and 3 Bible House. 1891. Pp. 291. \$1.50. — This is a book which will please High Churchmen of the extravagant school, be superseded for Low Churchmen by Dr. McConnell's immeasurably more valuable work, and for Christians at large be only interesting as an object of melancholy curiosity, because it shows that a Christian bishop may be able to write a work of nearly three hundred pages as empty of Christianity as if it were a treatise on magic, which in some sort it is. We would not guarantee that one might not, by carefully sweeping up in every corner of the book, as they do in the mint, secure a handful of the gold dust of substantial religion, but we have not been able to find it. It reminds us, by a direct analogy, of what the severely accurate Hallam says of Laud's correspondence, that it does not show the faintest sense of duty either to God or man. It is unmitigated priestliness. The book is written entirely in the spirit of Seabury's adherents, who contended that those who set aside Episcopacy, even temporarily, "scarcely deserve the name of Christians." It is true, the Right Reverend author by no means disguises the fact that William White held very different opinions. But there is this redeeming feature about this utter externalism, — it is lenient to the mere opinions of those that are, after all, in actual participation of the magical benefits of an external succession.

The keynote of the book is found in two sentences, of which it is hard to say which is the worse. He describes Bishop White's ideal — even yet only partially realized — of the merely formal and ecclesiastical constitution of the Episcopal Church in this country, as a vision of "our new Jerusalem descending in its beauty from the hand of God." And this description, which would be presumptuous and almost blasphemous if it referred to the reconstitution of the Universal Church, is applied to the mere machinery of one of its smaller parts! It would be hard to find a church in Christendom over whose origin there has presided a more absolutely externalistic spirit, a smaller measure of visible solicitude for the advancement of that in which St. Paul declares that the kingdom

of God consists, namely, "righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." According to Dr. McConnell's fearless exposition of facts, a preponderant part of early Pennsylvanian, Virginian, and Carolinian Churchmen, clergymen and laymen (certainly of Virginians and Carolinians), would hardly be labelled if described as sons of Belial. And of the bishops, although the obstinate Marylanders came short of intruding the scandalous Smith into the Episcopate, yet Provoost was a religious indifferent, and Madison commonly accounted an infidel, while Seabury and White, though sincere and estimable men, are certainly not widely known to posterity as ministers of essential righteousness. It is true, indeed, we ought to acknowledge with humble gratitude that our church is now a living and growing force, both for Christian piety and for social amelioration. "There are last which shall be first." But this ought to be admitted as a marvelous instance of God's miraculous power to raise up children unto Abraham out of the very stones. Of all Episcopal lines in Christendom, that to which this author belongs is the most bound to deport itself with "modest stillness and humility." The fair hopes which are opening on our American church depend for their realization on casting down the author of this book from his self-assumed function of interpreter for the Lambeth Conference. But why need we forebode, now that Phillips Brooks is to be Bishop of Massachusetts?

The second sentence is found on page 130. He speaks of "the principle of the divine origin of the historic Episcopate, so lately characterized by the great Lightfoot as the backbone of the faith." Now we are going to commit ourselves fairly into the hand of the Right Reverend author. We affirm, without reverification of our distinct remembrance, that Lightfoot has said no such thing. He has said that the Episcopate, not as a doctrine, but as an historic fact, has been the backbone, not of the faith, but of the church. And this, as respects the vast majority of Christians, is an obvious truth. As Professor Egbert Smyth has remarked, compared with this ancient and universal institute every other form of church polity appears as yet new and provincial, exactly, we may add, as every form of republicanism, until lately, appeared new and provincial compared with the ancient and universal institute of hereditary monarchy. But if Lightfoot, who shows us Philippi governed only by elders, and Smyrna governed by Polycarp, in tranquil communion, and the Bishop of Alexandria for six or seven generations consecrated by his own presbyters, had afterward made the declaration which our author puts into his mouth, he would simply have lapsed from Christianity into Antichristianity. "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ." According to Bishop Perry, those Maronites who were lately found ignorant of the existence of Christ, nevertheless adhered to "the backbone of the faith," for they were submissive subjects of the Historic Episcopate. We know by what subtleties of explanation the author will endeavor to disguise the shamelessness of his statement. But "out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh."

To maintain that Christ has instituted the Episcopal succession, and that all proper church authority lapses with a defection from it, however untenable, is perfectly compatible with an overmastering zeal for essential Christianity, and with a large brotherliness towards all true Christians. How many fairer types of both virtues have there been than a Ken or a Smythies? And both virtues shine illustriously even through the extra-

vagant Ultramontanism of a Manning. But the spirit which underlies this book, and which animates a considerable (we would fain hope a not over-numerous) school of churchmen, is nothing more than an unintelligent religious sorcery, which in itself makes against both experimental and ethical Christianity, however it may be found combined with one or both through the incoherencies of our curious nature. It is this school, not Anglo-Catholicism in itself, which Dr. Sterrett doubtless has in mind when he protests against showing it any further allowance. We know only one worse thing in the Anglican communion, and that is the school of Evangelicalism represented by "The Rock." From both these gangrenes may the Lord speedily deliver his church!

Christian Missions in the Nineteenth Century. By Rev. Elbert S. Todd, D. D. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. 1890. Pp. 174. 75 cents. — This little book is dedicated to the people of Grace Methodist Episcopal Church, Baltimore. It is intended to vindicate the reasonableness of modern missions and of their expectations. It does this very well, although exceptions might be taken by opponents to some of the positions. For instance, notwithstanding the barbarism of our heathen forefathers in England, we know that Christianity has approved itself as congruous to the European genius in a measure which does not as yet appear true of any other national genius. Early European missions, therefore, afford plenty of evidence to encourage Christian faith in undertaking missions throughout the world, but hardly enough as yet to convince doubters. By the way, though it does not affect the argument, the author attributes, as is still usual, the conversion of the English to Rome, which really converted very little more than Kent. Two thirds of England was converted by the Irish of Iona, and most of the rest by Gauls and Burgundians, with no particular mission from Rome. Rome organized what others had brought in. Iona, however, is made more prominent towards the end of the book.

The argument from the missionary triumphs of Mohammedanism and Buddhism over widely alien races is very effectively handled. The author, moreover, very justly remarks that in all ages, and more than ever in our age, the temporal successes and authority of Christendom have been a preliminary motive disposing the minds of pagans to submit to the God of the Christians. He shows how statesmanship and simple humanitarianism, in spite of themselves, are now forced to favor missions as the only influence that goes deep enough to stir radically the desire after higher standards of living. The author, as a Methodist clergyman, does good service by tacitly rebuking the hideous indecency which rules out more than half of Christendom from the Christian name, and puts it on one plane with Buddhism, at the same time that he treats Protestant missions as being what they undoubtedly are, — the great advancing force in most parts of the heathen world.

We note a few particulars of interest. It is a striking remark that Paganism is songless, and Islam almost so. The note of religious joy is hardly found outside of Christendom. Buddhism, especially, is mute, as the religion of mournful acquiescence in extinction as the only remedy of evil. Another striking remark is, that the Orient, once converted, may well interpret for us many of "the waste places of the Bible." He notes how almost all non-Christian religions attribute salvation, so far as they have a salvation, to works alone, for which he quotes Max Müller. It should have been Sir Monier Williams. This must be modified, how-

ever. The Shin sect of Buddhism upholds salvation by faith, though a faith rather mechanically conceived. And an Indian missionary explains that Vishnuism and Sivaism represent respectively salvation by faith and by works, aggravated to a fury of mutual dissent hardly known in Christendom.

We cannot see that interest in Chinese conversion obliges a Christian nation to suffer its territory to be overflowed by Chinese, any more than interest in city missions would oblige a Christian householder to see his parlors and bedrooms overflowed from the slums. But the author gives stinging emphasis to the various acts of crying injustice of which we have been guilty, and which we refuse to make good. As to the liquor and firearms with which our Senate consents that we shall still flood Africa, they speak for themselves.

Concerning the reproach of slow advance, — which might have been made for centuries of a large part of northern Europe, — the author very effectively quotes, in conclusion, John Stuart Mill: "Sudden effects in history are generally superficial; causes which go down deep into the roots of future events produce the most serious part of their effects only slowly, and must have time to become a part of the familiar order of things."

It is an interesting and enlightened little treatise, and is sure to be very useful.

Fourteen to One. By *Elizabeth Stuart Phelps*. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company. 1891. Pp. 464. \$1.25. — Mrs. Ward's productions are sufficiently familiar and approved not to need any very extended comment. This is a rather gruesome collection, but we suppose "it is for our good." Nor is the author so absorbed in suicides and murders, accomplished and half accomplished, intended, half-intended, and accidental, but that she finds ample leisure to dwell with all the superiority of benevolent wealth on every shabby detail of poverty, rightly judging that there is often tragedy enough in these, too. The ugly harshness of realism in these stories can hardly be said to be transfigured by the luminousness of faith and love, but it is at least mitigated.

The catastrophe of the Rev. Malachi Matthew appears to indicate a possibility rather than a fact. Congregationalist folly over Extended Probation seems to have been mainly confined to religious newspapers and missionary board meetings. We believe no flesh-and-blood council has really rejected a candidate on this account.

The phrase "to the *manor* born" shows the author's memories of Hamlet to have been not quite fresh.

Charles C. Starbuck.

ANDOVER.

